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TREATISE OF THE IMAGES OF CHRIST, AND OF HIS SAINTS: AND THAT IT IS VN- lawfull to breakethem, and lawfull to honour them.

With a Confutation of such false doctrine, as
M. Jewel hath uttered in his Reply, con-
cerning that matter.

Made by Nicolas Sander, Doctor of
Divinitie.

Ecclesiasticus, 45.

τὸ μνημόνιον (τὸ μνημεῖον τὸ δια) ἐπ ὀλογίαις.

Memoria dilecti Deo, in benedictionibus est.

The Remembrance or the Memoriall of the belo-
ued of God. is blessed. That is to say, anything
which maketh vs remember him that is belo-
ued of God, is worthy of praise and of honor.



AT. S. OMERS,
FOR JOHN HEIGHAM Anno 1624.
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THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

GEntle Reader, for sundry reasons haue I thought good, to publish a new, and to present unto thee this most worthy and most learned worke of Doctor Sanders, his treatise of Images. First, that the labour of so learned a man, should not utterly perish, nor lye any longer in obscuritie, as many other learned works, written by our Catholique Doctors, now haue done for many yeares, which by Gods assistance I haue resolued likewise to set forth a new. Secondly, for that this question of Images, seemeth still a great stumbling block, to our aduersaries, especially to the simple sort: and hath by none of our side, been more clearly & more excellently handled, in our English tongue, then by this Author. Thirdly, that all the world may

4 The Preface to the Reader.

see, especially those that at this present remaine peruerse in beleevuing this point, how evidently their heresie was confuted, and quite confounded by Catholiques, at the very first uprising therof, and the very best champions of Protestant Religion (I meane Master Iewell, whose writinges also against our Catholique Doctors haue bene reprinted) quite silenced and conuinced. Fourthly, that thou maist by the helpe hereof, the better defend thy selfe, and be the more confirmed in thy holy faith, and withall, wonder at the blindnes and hardnes of Protestants harts, who haue so long, and yet doe still oppugne a doctrine so clearly proved, and be moued to pray for them, that God would effect that by his grace, which can not be done by human industrie: wherin I will not fayle to ioyne with thee. And so I bid thee hartely farewell.

A TREATISE OF THE IMAGES OF CHRIST, AND OF HIS SAINTES, AND THAT IT is vnlawfull to breake them, and lawfull to honour them, &c.

*The Argument of the Treatise
following.*

THE I. CHAPTER.

MY Purpose at this time, is to Aunswere an Obiection moued by certaine Protestantes, concerning the late Proceedings of the Lowe Countries. Which Proceedings (they say) must needes come from the mighty hand of God, sithens a few naked and base men, haue both cast downe Idolatrie there, and obtained permission to preach the Gospell, against the pleasure of the greatest Christian Prince that is in these our dayes: against the will of an infinite number of riche Monkes, Friers, and Prities: against the desire of the multitudes of common people , which are for the most part all geuen to the old Religion . If then it be aboue the course of natural woorkes, for a small number of weake men, to

Of Images, and
throw downe Idoles, and to spread Gods
word contrary to the indeuour of Princes,
of Prelats, of Cities, of Countries: it see-
meth that the doing therof is euен the same
strong power of Christ, whereby in old time
the twelue Apostles being poore, and igno-
rant men, conuerted all nations to the wor-
shipping of one God, and of his sonne Iesus
our Lord. Thus some of the Protestants
doe reason.

The an-
swer.

This Argument maketh the preaching
and deedes of our new Gospellers, like vnto
the preaching and deedes of the Apostles:
the miracle in conuerting mens hartes, to
be in both all one: the Images of Christ and
of his Saints, to be like to the Idoles of the
Gentils and Paynims: and consequentlie it
presupposeth God to be not onlie the per-
mitter of these alterations, but also the
worker of them, for his glorie, and our sal-
uation. But if I proue their preaching to be
vnlawfull, their deedes to be vnhonest, the
pretended miracle of their working, to be a
heinous Sacrilege, our Images not onlie to
be no Idols, but although they had bene
Idols, yet to be vnlawfullie cast downe: it
wil remaine, that God permitteth this great
mischief for our great sinnes, and worketh
no miracle at all. And surelie it is so easie a
matter to confute this fond reason of the

Pro-

Image breakers.

testants ; that the verie telling of the fact, will be a sufficient confutation of the miracle, which is pretended to be shewed therein.

To beginne with the first occasion of ~~The spoile~~ this spoile, not longe after S. Iohn Baptistrie of his Feast, in the yeere of our Lord 1566. cer-
tain men taking aduantage aswell of the businesse which was betweene King Philip, and
the Lords of the low Countries (concerning
an Inquisition against heresie) as also of the
businesse which they thought should haue
bene betweene King Philip and the great
Turke (concerning the Kingdome of Na-
ples and Malta) certain men, I saie, wayting
such an oportunitie of time, flocked toge-
ther in the woodes, and fieldes nigh unto
Antwerp, there to heare such a man preach,
as neither was sent to them by their owne
Bishop, nor authorised by anie Archbishop
or Patriarche superiour to their Bishop, nor
called by anie Magistrate, or lawfull officer.
The which preaching although it were a li-
tle checked by edictes and proclamations,
yet not being remoued by force, caused as
well moe preachers to gather about that and
other cities of Flanders and Brabant, as also
moe hearers to come vnto their sermons, in
so much that within one moneth, manie
thousandes were found to resort vnto this

8. Of Images, and

new preaching wherof some strāge fruitfull
needes grow in time, sithēs that wild manē
of preaching hath not bene wont to be vſed,
where the whole people of the Countrie is
christened, vnlesse it be in the time of warre.

And surelie a time of warre it was, not
onlie because these numbrēs of men did all
make battaile against the house of God, and
his deere Spoule the Catholike Church, but
also because one preacher kept warre with
an other, for one was a Lutherān, an other a
Caluinit. And how could this audience lack
an Anabaptist, sith the cheſe comming to-
gether of ſuch a ſorte of beggarlie vagabūds,
was to haue a good pretēſe to ſteale, to picke,
and to make all things common? Now the
companie of Anabaptistes lacking peace in
their harts, haue taken this name vpon them,
to be called, the howſe of peace.

To go forward with the mater, the bleſ-
ſed eaſt of the *Assumption of our Ladie* was
now come, wherein the towne of Antwerpe
ſhould keepe their Church holydaie, as both
the Iewes kept yerely the Dedication or Re-
nouation of their Temple (whereat Christ
himſelfe was) and the Christians also haue
vſed to doe the like. But this eaſt of the
Assumption, theſe new preachers their ſcho-
lers can not allow, I maruell much why? For
if they keepe holy the daie wherein *S. Paule*

The
ſects in
the low
coun-
trics.

Ioan. 10.

Image breakers.

or S. Thomas the Apostle departed out of this world, how much more ought they to celebrate the day, wherein our Blessed Ladie was dissolved and made present with God in his glorie? Except perhaps shee must fare the worse with those, who hate the reall presence of Christes Body vnder the forme of bread, because she bare and brought forth the same naturall body of Christ, which they persecute. May we then Celebrate the day of S. Paules glorious death, although it be not found in scripture how or when he died: and may we not keepe a like remembraunce of the death of the Mother of God?

Would God they had onely abstained from keeping holy her Feast, but they are so farre from sanctifying her memory, that they prophaned it most horribly. For the xx. day ^{The} of August, whiles the Octaues of the said ^{daye} Feast was yet a celebrating (by those blessed Generations, who accompt Christes Mother holy and blessed) these new Gospellers came into our Ladies Church at Antwerpe, about fие of the clocke after dinner. The beginning of their purposed mischiefe, was committed to a Boye, who with a wand coming into the chappell of our Ladie strooke her Image, saying, *Marie thou must come down.* The At which voice, as it were at a watchword, ^{watche} the false bretheren approached neere, those word, ^{that}

that were settē to keepe the Chappell, cried out, others called the chiefe Magistrate, whose request and commaundement these new Gospellers no more regarded, then they doe the worde of God, which biddeth them.

2. Pet. 1. *Obey the king, and the officers whom he sendeth.*

Neither can it serue for their excuse, as though the officer forbidding them to spoile the Church, willed them to do against the commaundement of God, sithens it is also against the commaundement of God, *to steale, to spoile, to iniurie or hurte any priuate or publike treasure, against their wils to whom it belongeth.* And certainly the goodes of the Church, euen by the common law of Nations, are holy and sacred. So that it is no common theft to laie handes vpon them wrongfully.

Thema-
act.

Which notwithstanding, these fresh followers of this new preaching, threw downe the grauen, and defaced the painted Images, not onlie of our Ladie, but of all others in the roune. They tare the Curtainēs, dashed in peeces the carued workes of brasē, and of stone, brake the Alters, spoiled the clothes and corporelles, wrested the irons, conueied away or brake the Chalices, and vestiments, pulled vp the brasē of the grauestones, not sparing the glasse windowes, and seates which were made about the pillers of the Chur-

Churches for men to sitte in.

What shall I speake of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, which they trode vnder their feete, and (horrible is to say) shed also Oh their stinking pisse vpon it, as though, if it were not Christes owne bodie, it were not by their owne doctrine, a mysticall figure of his bodie. Or if it be not so, yet at the leasta creature of God, which of purpose ought not to be spitefully handled. A greater fault in truth can not be named, then this was, but to them who esteeme the tremend Misteries for prophane Idols, it seemeth more greuouse, that these false brethren burned and rent, not only al kind of Church bookeſ, but moreouer destroied whole Libraries and bookeſ of all ſciences and tongues, yea the holy Scriptures, and the Auncient Fathers, and tore in peeces the Maps, and charts of the deſcriptions of Countries.

Is this all? They brake in pieces the Friers kitchen ſtuffe, and all manner of vefſell. They ſhed their Wine and Beere, after they had drunke thereof more then inough, they melted their butter barrels, caried away their beds, their linnen, the lockes of their dores, rooted vp the herbes of their garden, and which paſſed all, they brought their ſtrum-pets in great number with them amōg thoſe that had vowed chaſtitie, omitting neither ^{Filthie} brether ^{words}

words nor deedes, wherby they might prouoke the yong Monkes and Friers to cast of their straight rule, and to come to their voluptuouse and pleasant life.

But ywhat? These were a few loiterers (some man will say) and they did that which their graue preachers allowed not. O Sir, as there were of these robbers so many as spoyled in one night aboue twenty Churches & Chappels, so they had for their Capitaine, one Hermannus, who hauing bene a regular Chanon, and being long since runne out of his Cloister, had now also lost one of his eares (beside a marke ypon his Backe) for a robbery committed about Cleuelande.

This Hermannus, manned or rather mastered the Church spoilers, and euery where prouoked the Monks, Friers, and Nunnes, to come from their feuere Religion, to his sweet Doctrine.

Praier. He came (among other places in Antwerp) to the Nunnes of S. Clares, which be of S. Frauncis order, whom when he beganne to persuade, that they shoulde go out of their Cloister, they fell dounne prostrate, and gaue them selues to prayer: whereupon immediatlie Hermannus gaue ouer his exhortation, crying to his fellowes, *away, away.* I am able to say no more. It is verely thought, that through the Nunnes prayer, his mouth

was

was stopped.

Thus were the Churches and Monasteries of Antwerpe sacked, the example and impunitie whereof, caused the bretheren at Gaunt, at Torney, at Valenchenes, at Hartgenbusch, at Middelburgh, and in diuerse other places, to do the like. Some of them pretending for that their mischiefe, a commission from the Emperour: others deriving their Authoritie from the holy ghost, as though God could be the author of their euill doing. Now let vs briefly consider this great miracle, which our new brethren accompt the mighty hand of God.

Their
cōmis-
sion.

First, the preachers were not lawfullie called, which was inough to shew all that followed to be nought, albeit they had preached no heresie at all.

Secondlie, they preached so manie heresies, as the Lutherans or Caluinistes their predecessors haue taught. So that though their Preachers had been once lawfullie called, yet they had broken their commission.

Thirdly, one of them preached against the other, accordingly as the seftes are diuerse, and in manie points contrarie.

Fourthly, their deeds were contrarie to naturall honestie, in robbing and violentlie spoiling other mens goods.

Last of all, they did it in such a time, as it

it may well appeare, they cared not to haue furthered the proceedings of the great Turk, sithens they must either haue drawen Kinge Philips power from resisting his inuasion, if he had come to Malta (as they thought he wold) or els haue compelled their Prince to their owne conditions.

If this be a great miracle of Gods working, to see the hearers of heresie spoile Churches by violence, we shall make manie new miracles, such as other men call manifest sacrileges, and wicked robberies. A Christian miracle is, when the faithfull ouercome by suffering losse, rather then by endamaging others.

Yea but a few did it against the will of manie. They were in deede but few that spoiled the Churches, in respect of the Catholikes who were in the Citie. But seing we can make it no miracle for a few to ouercome, where no man at all resisteth, this was no miracle in the spoilers behalfe, but rather a great miraculous plague to the Citie of Antwerpe, and to such other townes, for their great sinnes otherwise committed. For as Eusebius at large declarereth, the greatest plague that euer God sendeth for our sinnes, is when our Churches are spoiled and overthrowen. But if these brethren being the fewer in number, had ouercome a greater

number resisting them with like violence, then had it bene somewhat to haue bene spouken of, although it had not bene a sufficient proufe of their doctrine. But wheresoeuer anie resistance at all was made to these spoliuers, they had no victorie, as at Bruges, Lile, Doway, Mountes, Louan, Bruxels, Barogh, and diuers other. In so much, that the mariners and wemen did beate them out at Flushing. Wherfore the plague which so fell vpon some townes, that other of lesse habilitie with great easinesse scaped the same, is a manifest argument, that God was more angrie with some townes, then with others. For with whom he was most angrie, those he punished most speedilie.

And in deede, sith all outward Temples, Ornaments, Seruice, and Sacrifices be a tokē of the inward worshipping, which ought to be in vs, when God sawe publicke iustice neglected, riot and couetousnes vſed, extorsion, and usurie without all feare exercised, heresie and lewde libertie of the flesh greedilie embraced, the Sacraments, and the Ordinances of his owne Church despised: when I say, God saw all inward righteousnes decayed, it was great mercie in him, to suffer the outward tokens of this inward iustice, to be also broken, and spoiled, to the end, these that would not take aduertisement of

Outward holie things are signes of the inward.

their

their naughtie life by hearing the worde of God catholikely preached, might now at the least be warned by their owne eyes, and perceiue that as God suffered, *bis owne Temple in the land of Iuda to be destroied by the wicked Assyrians*, when his people wold take no warning at the mouth of his holy Prophets: euен so now the cursed generation of Heretiques being worse then the Assyrians, was permitted to shew evidently vnto them, that their life was naught, their faith voide of Charitie, their Obedience none, neither to God, nor to the Church, nor to their Prince. This was the miracle that God wrought in suffering his Churches of stone to be spoile by his cruell Ennemis, to the ende his liuely Temples & true Church might learnē to detest their false Doctrine, whose fruitem they perceyued to be so wicked.

4. Reg.
25.

The State of the Question concerning the adoration of holie Images. Where also a reason is geuen of the Order which is taken in the booke following.

THE II. CHAPTER.

BEFORE that Images can be worshipped, they must be made. And when they are made, seeing we do not defend that all Images,

ges, but onlie that certaine may be worshipped: it must be knownen, which are the Images that maie be worshipped, and which maie not. Then because it is not alwaies expediet, that euery thing which maie be done, should be done, it is an other question, whether though some Images maie be worshipped, it were well done to lette them be worshipped, specially when a farther danger might be feared thereby.

2. Fourthlie, for almuch as there are diverse degrees of worship, one which is due to God alone, an other which is due to good men: it is doubted, whether the same worship which is due to the principall patterne (as to the Saints themselves) be also due to their signes and Images, or els whether it be some inferiour degree of worship, which becommeth their Images & representatiōs.

3. Concerning the first question, the Catholikes defend, that Images maie be made, and that no generall or immutable commandement of God is against the making of them.

4. Secondlie, we defend; that onlie those Images maie be worshipped (in respect of Christian Religion) which represent and bring vs in minde, either that there is a God, or that there are three persons of the Blessed Trinitie, or which represent Christ, or his holiſt

5. Thirdlie, we thinke it expedient, that these holie Images should be permitted to be worshipped for their sakes whom they represent.

6. Fourthlie, we defend it for the more probable, that the same degree of honour is not due to the Image of Christ, of our Ladie, or of other Saints, which is due to Christ, our Ladie, and to other Saints themselues. But that there is a certaine proper honour due to holie Images, which may be called *Worship or honour due to a good Remembrance, or Monument.*

7. Now in the first question, whether it be lawfull to make Images or no, there is no great difficultie, albeit some Caluinists doe speake vp and downe in that behalfe. But for the most part, it is graunted of all men, that Images may lawfully be made, so that they be not abused.

8. In the second, as well the Lutherans as the Caluinists defend against vs, that no Image at all may be worshipped in one sort or other. And much more they must iudge it vnprofitable, to haue Images worshipped, which was the third question.

9. In the fourth and last question, there hath beene thought to be some controuersie betwene the Catholiques, because some haue thought,

thought, that the honor due to the thing it selfe (by reason that the Image is all one with the thing, when it exerciseth the act of an Image) might be giuen to the Image therof. Others be of an other minde, because they consider an Image otherwise.

10. Of euerie of these questions somewhat (God willing) shalbe said, but most of all, concerning the second question, wherin the greatest controuersie consisteth.

11. To make it then plaine what shall be defended in this treatise, I saie, it is not onlie lawfull, but commendable, and most agreeable to reason, and to the law of nature, and to the vniuersall custome of the Church, to make Images, which may put a man in remembrance of good, holie, and honorable verities.

12. It is likewise lawfull and commendable when the Images are made, to vse them as we ought to vse the remembrance of good, holie, and honorable verities. And then we doe vse well the remembrance of an honorable veritie, when we shew so much honor to the veritie it selfe, that we suffer not the verie signe and token, or as it were, the messenger and step of it, to be without some honour, for that verities sake, which it sheweth and putteth vs in mind of.

The joy-
ning of i-
sue with
the adua-
sarie.

13. How much did S. John esteeme Christ,

can. 1. when he thought him selfe vnworthy to vn buckle the latchet of his shoe? And who doth not naturally imbrace neuer so meane a seruant or messenger comming from his deere frind? Who kissteth not the ring, which he receaueth from him? Who loueth not the honorable naming of him? Who esteemeth not his picture and Image?

14. But when we say, Images may and ought to be honoured, no man may by and by thincke, that we make them Gods, as though there were not one honour due to

a Exo. 20. **a** God himselfe, an other due to **b** to his
b Psal. 138. **a** Saints, an other to our **c** Prince, an other to
c 1. Pet. 2. **b** Ibidem. **his d Lieutenant, an other to our e Father and**
d Exo. 20. **e** Mother, an other to our **f** Master, an other
f Coloss. 3. **g** Gal. 5. **to our g friends and h fellowes, yea an other**
h Rom. 12. **i** also to the **j** holy monuments and remem
j Eccles. 45 brances of iust persons, whose monuments
 are in blessednes. Among so manie degrees of
 honour, we giue one degree to Holie Im
 ages, and by Gods grace I will proue it to be
 due to them. Of which difference of honour,
 I warne the Reader before, lest he should
 thinke either that honour is due to God a
 lone, and in no sense to anie other thing: or
 els, that when we speak of adoring or honou
 ring Images, that then we should meane to
 giue the such honour, as is due to God alone.

The dif
ference of
honour co
meth fro
the mind.

15. It is the mind which giueth honour

prin-

principally. If I fall downe before an Image, and kisse the same, and light a candell before it, being all this while of the mind that it is no God, nor no reasonable creature, but onlie that it is a good remembrance either of Christ, or of his Mother, or of his Disciples, towards whome I desier to shew mie affection, God he knoweth mie honour is farre off from that honour, which is due to God alone. In so much that If I lay prostrate before Christes feete, and kissed them, and knocked mie brest, and held vp my hands to him, and crept vpon my knees after him, and called him the Sonne of God, and yet all this while thought him not to be the naturall sonne of God (of which impious mind, the Arrians were) mine honour should be accounted no honour at all, but a contumelie to Christ, and I should be damned (not indeede for doing that I do, but) for not beleeving his true Godhead, after that it had bene once published and professed in the Church.

16. *Abraham adored the people of the land of Chanaan.* But was he an Idolater therfore? He adored them as Lords and Gentlemen of the countrie, but not as his Gods or his Sauiour. Geue God thy hart, and keepe thy faith steddie, and afterward be secure, that the honour which is geuen, in anie respect, for Gods sake, whether it be to the frinds

of God, or to his Ministers, or to the Ma-
nument and Images of Gods frinds, be-
sure, I say, of they deede, because thy hart
and intent is good, which onely God regar-
deth. And he regardeth it so much the bet-
ter, if with a good faith to him, he see in
thee a good affection to his seruantes or
frinds.

17. Thus much I haue sayed, to the end no
man should be offended with the names of
Adoration, Worshipping, honouring, reueren-
cing, bowing, kneeling, kissing, or any like,
as though, because distinct words lacke to
giue euerie thing, that must be honoured, his
proper name of honour, we can not therfore
by our vnderstanſtāding distinguish the ho-
nor of one thing from an other. The wor-
des which betoken honour be in maner con-
founded in all tounes, but the hart whence
the honour cometh, knoweth the difference
of euery thing. Therfore call it how yee list,
one kinde of honour is due to the Image of
an honorable personage, the which Honour
is geuen without blame, when the partie
that giueth it, doth in the faith of one God,
and of one Mediatour Iesus Christ, di-
rect his honour by the Image to the truth
represented, as all good Catholiks doe, the
which faith and intention, doth quite deli-
uer vs from all spice of Idolatrie.

Faith;

And

18. And forasmuch as he can not well build a new house, who doth not first remoue such stones and rubbish as lieth in his way, I thincke it necessarie to putte away such obiections, as maie seeme to make against the hauing or honouring of Images, before I come to proue that honour is due to them. Yea before I come to either of both, my aduantage against these Image breakers is so great that I will (for disputations sake) feine, The orde
of the
book. that Images are either worthie of honour, or at the least that they were to much honoured by the ignorant Catholikes. And yet if euen that were true, I will declare, that the breakers of Images in the Low Countries did not well.

That although the Images of Christ and of his Saints had bene fassly worshipped, yet the Churches were vniustlie spoiled, and the Images vniustlie throwen downe. And consequentlie that the doers thereof, must needes be the ministers of the deuill.

THE III. CHAPTER.

Because the whole mischiefe done in the Low Countries had his beginning vpon this pretense, that the Catholikes abused the Images of Christ and of his Saintes,

worshipping them, like as the Gentils heretofore, did worship the Idols of their false Gods: I will first shew, that our Images, although they had bene falso lie worshipped, yet they ought not to haue bene so broken and destroyed, as they were. And afterward I will shew, that they are no Idols, but may and must be conueniently worshipped of vs according to the word of God, and the example of the first sixe hundred yeares.

20. Concerning the first point, if we had giuen false honour to the Images of Christ or of his Apostles and Martyrs: it was their part, who thought so, to haue exhorted vs to leaue that false honour, and not to haue committed any iniuriose fact, whereby we might be iustlie offended with their whole doctrine. For if charitie did persuade them to breake our Images, lest we should worship God in a false maner: the same charity, if it had bene ruled by right knowlege, would haue told them, that the way for the to make vs worship God better, had bene to haue gottē credit with vs by their good deedes. And whē we had thought the to haue bene good and honest men, afterward to haue proposed their great reas ons, whereby we might haue bene moued, to leaue that our false worship (as they imagin it) and so to haue both kept our Images for the instruction of them

them who can not reade , and to haue left Idolatrie, as they call it. For seeing the Image neither is euill of it selfe , nor the resemblance of anie false God, or of euill men (as the Gentils Idols were) I see not but the false worship might haue bene taken away, from the true representation which the Images make , and so both the Images quietlie let alone, and the abuse charitablje amended.

Gregor.ad
Serenum
lib.7.epist.
109.

21. If they say, although the braſon ſerpēt Num. 21.
4.Reg. 12.
was willed to be ſet vp by God him ſelfe, yet that Ezechias brake it when it was abuſed: let them conſider, firſt, that King Ezechias was the publike Miſter of God, next, that he did it orderlie by publike comman-1.
dement. And thirdlie, that the thing broken,2.
was rather a figure then an Image: fourthly,3.
that it was not uſed as an Image, but was4.
abuſed, as if it had bene a principall truth to be worshipped of it ſelfe . For the people worshipped the materiall braſſe, in ſo much that Ezechias when he brake the ſerpent, he called it, *nebustum* that is to ſaie, *braſſie*, or a *thing of braſſe*, declar-
ing by the name, what mettall the people had worshipped , the In 4. Reg. capit. 18.
which verie thing Angelomus alſo hath no-
ted. Now this woorſhip of theirs, could not in anie ſenſe be lawfull, because no vnreafonable creature is woorthie of woorſhip in it ſelfe, and for his owne ſake.

22. Againe,

Ioan. 3. 22. Againe, there was no naturall serpent at all who in truth might be worshipped. But only there was to come an intellectuall serpent (Christ, worthy of all woorschip) who should take away the stinge and byting of the venemouse Serpent the Deuill. Therfore the brasen serpent was an obscure figure (to them that were spirituall) rather then a manifest Image of a knowé truth to the simple. And whē the simple not knowing what the figure of the serpent did signifie, had honoured the verie metall, as if it selfe being the cause of benefite to them, the King moued with the holy Ghost, brake the serpent, saying, as it were, this is brasse, and not God.

23. But it is not like in vs, who doe not woorshippe the Metall of our Images, but we knowe them to be Images, and whereof they are Images, and we vse occasions to Remember Christ, our Lady, Saint Peter, and such other true Saints, whom we professe to be in heauen, keeping holie the daies of their glorious death.

Ioan. 3. 24. But these men being not so much as inferior Magistrates, and much lesse Kinges, did without order, by stealth, by force, and by night (and therfore with an euil conscience) destroye not obscure figures, but knownen Images of Christ and of his friendes, and thole also not worshipped concerning their
met-

mettall, but only concerning that they represented a truth

25. Moreover, Ezechias brake that brazen Figure of the Serpent, both without injurie done to any societie or companie of priuate persons, and without seekinge of his owne gaine thereby. But these men so brake the common and priuate Images of diuerse Fraternities and Companies, that they both iniuried many Cities and Societies in the vallew of certayne thousand poundes, and also many of them robbed and caried away to their owne commoditie, what so euer they were able to catche.

26. Last of all, if an Image might be broken and stolen by any meanes, yet what fault haue siluer Crosses and gilded Chalices committed, why they must needes be broken and caried away? What offense did white linnen cloth? What deserued the holy Bibles, and the workes of the Auncient Fathers, why they shoulde be torne, burnt, or spoiled? Did Ezechias spoile the whole Temple of Salomon, because the brasen Serpent was abused?

Note.

27. To returne to Images, although they had bene abused and falsely worshipped (as they were not) yet according to the autheritic of holy Scripture, they ought not to haue bene throwen doun by priuate men,
against

against their wils whose goods they were; For thus it is written touching the Idols of the very false Gods. When the Lord thy God hath brought thee into the land which thou goest to possesse (and afterward) When he hath delivereded them to thee (againe afterward) Destroie their Alters, and breake their Images. Lo when, God hath giuen any Heathenish Nation into our handes, so that we are become Lordes of that land, then onely we may destroy their false Idols. Wherby we are taught on the other side, that if we be not Lordes of the lād, we may not destroy other mens Altars, or Images, albeit they be false. So doth S. Augustine reason concerning the Idols of the Gentils in these wordes.

Hoc dicimus charitati vestra, ne faciamus ista, quando in potestate vestra non est, ut faciatis illud. Parvorum hominum est, furiosorum circumcellionum, & ubi potestatem non habent sauire, & velle mori, propterant sine causa. Auditis qua vobis legimus, omnes qui nuper in mapalibus affuistis. Cum data vobis fuerit terra in potestatem. Prius ait, in potestatem, & sic dixit qua facienda sunt. Aras eorum, inquit, destruetis, lucos eorum comminuetis, & omnes titulos eorum confringetis. Cum acceperitis potestatem, hoc facite. Vbi nobis non est data potestas, non facimus, at ubi data est non pretermittimus. Multi Pagani habent istas abominationes in fundis suis, nunquid accedimus &

De verb.

Dom in e.
mangel. se-
cū Math.
scr. 6.

confringimus? Prius enim agimus, ut Idola in eorum cordibus confringamus. Quando Christiani & ipsi facti fuerint, aut inuitant nos ad tam bonum opus, aut preuenient nos.

28. This we say vnto your charitie, doe yee not these thinges, which be not in your power to do? It is the parte of wicked men, and of furious vagabonds, to be fierce and cruel where they haue no authoritie, & willfullie to die, they hasten without cause. Ye haue heard, what we did read vnto you all yee that were presēt of late in the schroudes. *When the land shall be giuen into your power and gouernment. First he saith, into your power or gouernment, and so he shewed what should be done. You shall destroy (saith God) their Aulters, you shall fell their darke wordes, and you shall breake all their Titles, or Monumenes. When you shall receiue authoritie, do this. Where we haue no authority, we do not this, but where authoritie is giuen, we do not omitte to do it.* Many Infidels haue these abominations in their groundes, but do we go vnto them and breake them? First we indeuour our selues, *to breake the Idols in their hertes.* And when they themselues are made Christians, either they do intuite vs to do that good deed, or els they them selues preuent vs.

Mapalia.
was the
place whe
re S. Cy
prian, lay
buried.
Vicit lib. 1.
de perse
cut. vand.
Deut. 7. .

29. Hitherto we may perceiue, it was vniawfully

lawfully done to cast doun their Images, whose land was not geuen ouer to them, who tooke vpon them that outrage. Now let vs consider the second iniurie, which consisted in turning the Crosses, Candelsticks, Jewels, Images & other Church goods into the priuate lucre of certeine men. Wherof S. Augustine speaketh in his epistle to Publ. col. shewing why it is not lawfull to make our owne gaine euuen of Idols, or of Idolatrous Churches. No not then when it is lawfull for vs to breakē them doun.

August. in Ep. 154. 30. *Et cum Templa, Idola, luci, & si quid hu-
iusmodi data potestate, euertuntur, quamvis ma-
nifestum est, cum id agimus, non ea nos honorare,
sed potius detestari: ideo tamen in vsus nostros pri-
uatos duntaxat & proprios non debemus inde
aliquid usurpare, vt appareat nos pietate ista des-
truere, non auaritia. Cum vero in vsus commu-
nes non proprios ac priuatos, vel in honorem Dei
veri conuertuntur, hoc de illis fit quod de ipsis
hominibus, cum ex sacrilegijs & impjs in veram
Religionem mutantur. And when Temples,
Idoles, Woods, or any such like, by law full
Authoritie are ouerturned, although it be
manifest, when we doe that thing, that we
do not honour them, but rather detest and
abhorre them: yet notwithstanding. We ought
not to usurpe any part thereof to our only priuate
and proper vses, that it may appeare we destroy
these*

thesef things for godlinesse, and not for covetousnes sake. But when they are conuerted into common vses, and not into proper and priuate gaine, or els into the honour of the true God, that thing is done by them , which is done by the men themselues, when they are changed from sacrilegious and impious, into true Religion.

31. Now seing neither the Brotherhods particular Lordes themselues in the Low Countries, nor the Prince and Prelates there, gaue these new Gospellers any power to throwe downe their Images, or to robbe their Churches: it is euident, that they haue both vniustlie thrown downe those things wherupon they had no power: and many of them haue more vniustly caried away a great parte of the same, to their owne priuate commoditie and filthy gaines. But for as much as it is vnseemely for any man, whosoever he be, to turne to his priuate commoditie thosse Idolatrouse and Superstitiouse Temples , Churches, Idols and Woodes, which were before dedicated to the deuill and his members: *how much more vniust is it, for anie man to throwe downe such holie Altars , Temples, and Images, as were dedicated to Christ him selfe?*

32. They say we worship Idols in our Churches, which is not true, but certainly
they

they worship Idols in their harts. For some of them so worshipped covetousnes, that (perhaps euен against their consciences at the first) yet they would imagine our Images to be Idols, that they might haue occasion to carie away our gilded crosses, our siluer candlestickes, and other iewels and Images of price. Let euery honest man confess, which of vs is the more like to be the worshipper of Idols. I will proue hereafter, that our Images be no Idols. But which of them can say he is free from Idolatry, who keepesthe Church goods in his priuate hands, which S. Augustine saith, no Priuate man ought to haue, least he appeare to haue pulled downe Churches, or (which is all one) Abbies for covetousnes, and not for godlines. If any man will cleere him selfe of this inward Idoll, let him confess his fault in usurping Church goodes, and amend the same by restoring that which he gotte vniustly, and then I may thinke he is become godlie, and is not any more an Idolater.

33. Farther it must be vnderstood, that according to the law and vse of al Nations, the Prince also hath a priuate treasure and patrimonie of his owne, the which if he do enrich by Church goods, or if he geue the same to his priuate friendes for their priuate commoditie, he appeareth to haue pulled doun

The Vnfaſing of Heretie.

33

Thirdly concerning Peacocke, the same a) Stow
(a) Stow will tell you, that he was accu- ann. 36.
ſed, for denying certaine Articles of the Henr. 6,
Apostles Creede, which he after at Pau-
les Crosse, abiured, renouked, and renoun-
ced, requiring all men , in the name of
God, & as they tendred their ſaluations,
not to giue credite to his pernicious do-
ctrines, errours , and herefies (which by
presumming on his owne naturall witt, &
preferring his owne iudgement in rea-
ding the Scriptures, before the iudgement
of his Holy Mother the Church, hee had
conceiued and written) but that all ſuch
books & writings, ſhould be deliuered to
the Archbiſhop, or his Commissaries, to
be burnt, as well deseruing the ſame.

They further name in this age, Iohn Hus, Richard Turmin, and Machiauill. The firſt of which three , maintained all Wicliſſes opinions, and is iuſtly rāked by Mathew Hoe, in the Catalogue of Heretiſes, & his opinion , ſtyled Monſtrous Monſters. Secōdly cōcerning * Turmin, he was in the conſpiracie with Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle. And as touching Machiauill all men know that he was a true Atheiſt.

White vi
ſup. Fox
in Acts &
Monum.
Illiſicus li.
19. teſt. p.
1916. an.
1608. edic
Matthew
Hoe in
tract. duo

bus. tract. 1. de disp. pag. 27. * Of this Protestant Martir, Fox cō-
felleth, that he not onely escaped burning, but had neuer ſo
much as any ſentence of death pronounced againſt him.

C

And

34 *The Vncaſing of Heretie.*

And thus hauing exactly viewed the Catalogue of the Protestants pretended Anceſtrie, and found them to be no other, then either confessed Papists, known Schismatikes, detested Heretikes, Atheiſts, Magitians, Thieues, and Traitors, I will conclude this chapter with this dilemma.

(a) Ordinarie that
is, from
men of
awfull
uthority
it could
not be, for
neither at
that time,
nor long
before,
there had
been any
knowne
or visible

Protestant Minister or Magistrate, as they themſelues confessed in the beginning of this chapter: and as for Papists, who then were onely visible, as most Protestants acknowledge, they neither ſent them to Preach thofe new doctrines, neither will any Protestant indure to derive anie ſmall authoritie from them. We (ſaith Fulke in his Retentive p. 67.) and in his anſwer to the false Catholike (pag 50.) detest, abhorre, abiure, and pit, at your Antichristian and filthie Orders; you are deceiued, if you thinkē that we hold your Offices of Deacons, Priests, or Bishops, for any other then meerly laicall; The Papifticall ordinations ſaith Powel (in his conſideration of the Papifts rea-

marie,

ſons, pag. 71. & 70.) are meere Prophanations, neither is there in the Papacie any Ecclesiastical calling. So he, and the like is affirmed by Beza, apud Sarauium in defens. tract. p. es Bucanus in loc. commun. loco 42.

ordinarie, nor (b) extraordinarie, that b) Extra-
is; neither immediatly from God, nor ordinarie
mediatly by men of lawfull authoritie: or imme-
diatly fr̄ God, it
If (I say) they had no predecessors, it must needs follow, that the doctrines, was nei-
on which the Protestant Church is foun- ther by
ded, were hereticall and Antichristian, their o
& they them ſelues Nouellizers, because confel
this for

two reasons: First, because extraordinarie calling hath not bene in vſe ſince the A poſtles time, nor muſt euer be expected, till the end of the world, as Luther in tom. 5. Witt. in cap. 1 ad Galath. p. 376. Musculus (in locis commun. p. 304.) Lobeke (in disput. Theolog. p. 358.) and Sarauia (in defens. tract contra deſens. Beza p. 73. & 35 36. 37.) contend. Secondly becauſe extraordinarie vocation was euer accompanied with miracles, as the ſaid Luther (in locis communib. claſſe 4 cap. 20. & Epift. ad Senatum Mulhus. apud Sleydan. l. 3. an. 25.) Piftator (in vo-
lum Theolog. Thes. 1. loco. 23.) Polanus (lib. 1. part. Theo-
log. pag. 358.) and other affirme; Now that no Protestant euer wrought any miracle, is manifest in it ſelue, neither will anie of them challenge ſo much; We neither worke miracles, neither doe we hold, that the doctrine of truth is to be confirmed by Miracles. So Sutliffe in examin. Kelif. p. 8. and the like is affir-
med by Fulke (contra Remift. test. fol. 478.) Erasmus (apud Fitz Siomn in Britanniar. Ministr.) and others.

the true * Church of Christ, according to exprefſe Scriptures, conſent of Ca- tholike writers, and confeſſions of best

* Efay.c.2.
vers. 2. &
cap. 60.
61. & 62,

per totū.
 And Psal.
 91. v. 4.
 Ephesians
 4. 11. 12.
 Mat. 18. v.
 15. & cap.
 24. v. 25. 26.
 And Da-
 niel 2. v.
 44. And
 Osee c. 2.
 v. 19. A-
 hanaf. in
 Orat. de
 Christi.
 Chrysoft.
 serm. 26.
 de Pente-
 cost. Au-
 gustine e-
 pist. 170.
 & in Con-
 cione 2.
 in Psal. 5.
 See also
 the Prote-
 stants A-
 pologie,
 tract. 2. c. 2.
 sect. 8.

learned Protestants, must be alwaies as a
 Cittie seated one the toppe of a hill,
 knowne, eminent, and gloriously visible,
 whose Suune must neuer set, nor her
 Moone lie hidde, whose gates must euer
 stand open & the like, hauing in her Pa-
 stors and Ministers preaching the word,
 and administering the Sacraments, and
 resisting al nouelties & false doctrines.

But if (as Illiricus, Fulke, & D. White
 contend) Luther & his cymists, had anie
 Predecessors, the chiefe of which were
 those formerly mentioned, in what ca-
 talogue or ranke Protestants are to be
 placed, in being descended, from such
 accursed, and infamous, progenitors,
 let the reader iudge.

*That all the chiefe doctrines and Principles of
 Protestantie, are old condemned heresies; and
 that the most damned heresies that euer were
 hatched in any age, haue bene cherished, fo-
 stered, and defended by the chiefe Doctors in
 the Protestant Church.*

CHAPTER II.

THAT all the doctrines which Pro-
 testants at this day so eagerly main-
 taine against Roman Catholikes, are
 old condemned Heresies; and that the
 chiefe

chiefe Apostles and Doctors of Protestacie , haue reuiued and defended all the most detestable heresies , that euer any former age begotte , Iames Gaultier in his learned and elaborate Cronographical tables (out of the ſeueral Catalogues of Heresies, composed by S. Epiphanius, Anſtine, Philaſtrius, Alphonsus à Caſtro, Prateolus , and other auncient and moderne writers) hath proued at large. Out of whome I will here instance in ſome few which ſeeme to be as the Marrowe, Eſſence, and life of Protestantisme . Setting downe the age in which theſe Heresies were first begot ; the Fathers and Councils, who opposed and condemned them , and the Protestant Doctors by whom they are reuiued and maintained. I will begin with the firſt age.

In the firſt age , Simon Magus one of the firſt detested heretikes, was condemned of heretie by S. Clement and S. Ireneus, for teaching: that men are not ſaved by good workes, but by faith only: and that man had no free will : both which assertioſ, are now generally maintained by all ſorts of Protestants , as two principall and eſſentiall Articles of their religion.

That (b) it is not in mans power to b) Luther
think

Iacobus
Gualtier
lib cui ti-
tulus Ta-
bula Cro-
nographi-
ca Eccle-
ſiae catho-
licæ à
Christo
nato vſq;
ad ann.
1614. edit.
an. 1616.

Clement.
3. recog.
Irenæus
l. 1. c. 20.

in artic.

36.

c) Idem
tom. 5.

Ger. Ien.

in admo-

nit. ad

German.

fol. 288. &

tom. 7.

Ger. Wite

fol. 478.

d) Idem
tom. 1.

Ger. Wit.

in 2. ad

Galat. fol.

47. & 91.

& tom. 1.

Latt. Ien.

fol. 488.

e) Idē to.

5. in c. 3.

ad Gal.

f) Idem

tom. 2.

lib. deab-

homina-

tione Mis-

ſe fo. 390

g) Epip.

hæref. 8.

a) Caluin.

lib. 4. Inst.

cap. 16. n.

34. & 27.

& 26. &

thinke either good or euill, but that all thinges doe hapen by absolute necessitie, is one of our chiefe Articles , saith Martin Luther, (c) And as for Iustification by faith only; for (d) faith only Iustifieth, and not that faith which includeth Charitie) it is an Article which we cannot be without, because that failing, our Church falleth, (e) it is our onely safeguard, without which, both we and all other sectaries, had vndoubtedly perished, (f) it is the summe of our Gospel. So Luther.

In the second age Cerinthus stands conuicted of heresie by(g) S. Epiphanius, for teaching that children might be sauued without Baptisme , which is now a plaufible doctrine, among all the Calvinian Protestants.

Baptisme is but a seale of the promise, and neither hindereth nor furthereth in the way of saluation ; neither doth the saluation of children, depende on baptisme , but on the promise which God made to Abraham, Gen. 27. 7. therefore all the children of beleeuing parents, are sanctified in their mothers wombe , and are by faith the heires of the kingdome of heauen, so (a) Caluin and the like is affirmed by Rogers, Willet, Babington,

Zanchie, and all other pure Caluinian Protestants.

c. 15. n. 10.
& 20. &c in
antid. co-
cil. Trid.
sess. 5.

Rogers in
his booke
entituled
the Catho-
like doc-
trine of
the Chur-
che of En-
gland. are
52 Wille
in Synop
cont. 11.
qu. 3. Ba-
bington
Commee
in Gen. 1;
7. Zāch.i
Miscel. L.
art. 17.
Epiphan
haeres. 30

In the same age, Ebion stands condemned of heresie, by the said Epiphanius, for denying *that Christians enjoyed the veritie of the old Figures*; which is also a currant doctrine among the Caluinian Protestants: For they generally teach: that the Sacrament of the Eucharist, is but a figure of Christs bodie.: That S. Iohn Baptists baptisme, was all one with ours: that our Baptisme exceedeth not in prerogatiue the Iewes circumcision, that the schoolemens distinction (teaching that the Sacraments of the Old law did only adumbrate or shaddow, and the Sacra- ments of the new conferred grace) was to be hissed at: & that the Iewes in their sacraments, had the same substance of Christ that we haue.

b) Caluin. l. 4. Inst. c. 17. & 19. pertotū. Etc. c. 14 n. 20 &c.
cap. o n. 5. & Willet in Synop. controu. 15. q. 3. & control
12 qu. 7. & Powel l. 2. de Antichristo cap. 21.

Againe, the same Ebion was condemned by the foresaid * Father, *For impos-
sing a necessarie on marriage*, which is a do-
ctrine much vrged & defended by Mar-
tin Luther, the Protestants Apostle and
Euangelist. As it is not in my power (saith

* Epiph
haeres. 30

Luther in he) not to be a man, so it is not in me to ſermon. lie without a woman &c. For our Ele- de Matri- ction or Council is not free, but a thing monio naturally necessarie, that a man be ioy- 1522. fol. ned to a woman, and a woman to a man; 5. latt. for this word which God ſpake, increase Witt. See and multiply, is not a precept, but more alſo Cal- the a precept, to wit, Gods worke which gin l. 4. is not in our power to hinder or omit, Instit. c. but it is as necessarie as to be a man, and 13. n. 3. & more necessarie then to eate, drinke, Harmon. purge, ſleepe or wake, &c. So Luther. n Matt. 19. 12. And in another place, exempting but three kinds of men from the necessitie of marriage, viz. Gelded men, Eunuches borne, and ſuch as haue made themſelues Eunukes, he addeth ſaying: whosoeuer doth not finde himſelfe in the number of one of these, muſte in any caſe thiſke of a wife, and haſten marriage, yea though he haue made ten vowes, oathes, promises and adamantine obligations to the contrarie.

Epiphanius.
Aperc. 27.
August.
Act. 7.

Luther
om. 4.

Againe in this ſame age, Capronimus standes condemned of heretie, both by S. Austine, and S. Epiphanius, for contending that the law appertained not vnto Christian men: which is one of Luthers prime doctrines. You ſhall heare him ſpeakē (a) The Apostle ſaith, ye are not

vnder

vnder the Law, but vnder grace: how not Ien. late.
vnder the Law? accordinge to the new argum. in
man, vnto whom the Law doth nothing epist. ad
appertaine, for it had its limitts vnto Galat.
Christs time, as Paule afterward saith, b) Ibid.
&c. (b) O Law touch not my consciéce,
for I am baptized, and by the Gospell
called to the communion of Iustice, and
euerlasting life, to the Kingdome of
Christ, where there is no Law, but
meere remission of finnes, peace, quiet-
nes, and mirth, &c. (c) Therfore a Chri-
stian is free from all Lawes, and subiect
to none, neither within nor without. (d)
The opinion of Hierome and others is
to be reieected, who dreame that Paule
speaketh not here of the ten Comman-
dements, but of the Ceremonial Law,
&c. (e) I vnderstád this saying of Christ,
do this and live, as a certaine Ironie or scoff-
ing speech, &c. (f) Neither doth Paule f) Ibid.
speake here of the Ceremonial Law, fol. 89.
&c. but of all the Law, there simplie all
the Law, whether it be Ceremoniall, or
of the ten commandements is abroga-
ted to a Christian, &c. (g) Thomas and g) Ibid. in
other Scholemen speaking about abro- cap. 4 ad
gating the Law, say, that the Iudicall
and Ceremoniall Law were taken a- Gal. f. 144
way after Christ, but not the Moral; but
these

43 *The Vnmasking of Heresie.*

b) Ibid in
cap. 2. fol.
62: & 54.

e) Ibid. in
cap. 2 fol.
55.

Sec also
Caluin.
4. Inst. c.
10. n 5. &
1. 3. c. 19.
B. 2 & 4.

these speake they know not what , &c.
(b) What is it to me, that thou o Law,
accusest me as guiltie, that thou conui-
ctest me of many finnes committed? yea
I commit manie daily , but this is no-
thing to me , now I am deafe , I heare
thee not,I pray thee trouble not my cō-
science: (c) true it is,I haue sinned, ther-
fore God will punish & condemne me?
no; yea but the Law of God saith so . I
haue nothing to doe with this Law:why?
because I haue an other Law, which cō-
pelleth this Law to be mute, to witt, Li-
bertie, what Libertie? of Christ, for by
Christ I am freed from the Law : so a
faithfull man by only faith may lift vp
him selfe , and conceaue sure hope and
firme consolation, that he may not waxe
pale at the view of finne, but may say,Sir
diuel, thy threats and terrors mooue me
nothing , because there is one which is
called Iesus-Christ, in whom I beleue,
he hath abrogated the Law , and is thy
Sathan, o Sathan: o Law if thou canst
accuse me, binde me, terrifie me , I will
place ouer thee an other Law,that is to
say, an other tyrat and tormentor , who
shall in like maner accuse, bind, and op-
presse thee, thou art in deed my Hang-
man , but I haue an other Hangman
Christ,

Christ, who shal tortour thee, by him I am free. If the diuell beate me, I haue a stronger diuel, who shall in like maner whip him. Christ is my diuel; (a) therefore a conscience beleeuing in Christ, ought to be so sure, that the law with his terrors and threats is abrogated, that he must altogether be ignorant, whether Moyses, the Law, or a Iew euer were; (b) the Law certainly is no other then the sincke of all euils, heresies and blasphemies, because it only augmenteth sinne, accuseth, terrifieth, threatneth death, sheweth God to be an angrie Judge, condemninge sinners: wherfore if thou be wise, banning farre off, stuttering and stammering Moyses with his Law, neither let his terrors and threats any way moue thee, but do thou simplie suspect him as an heretike, an excommunicated person, a damned wretch, far worse then the Pope and the diuell himselfe, and therefore in no case to be heard &c. Hethereto Luther.

Againe in this same age, the Gnostikes stand condemned of heretie by saint Augustin, for teaching, that some creatures were of their owne nature ill: which is Caluins expresse doctrine. For he plainly faith, that the diuel was by na-

v. Luthe
vt supra
in cap. a.

ad Galat.
fol. 55.

a) Ibid. i
cap. 3. ad
Galath.
fol. 115.

b) Idem i
c. 4. Gal.
fol. 118.

Augus
hær. 6.

Alpho
à Casti
in v. C
tura, 3
malum

aluin. l.
inst. c.
.a. 3. &
.c 14.n.
. & 17.

euill, wicked malicious: and that al men
(whome God hath Predestinated to
death, are by a natural condition, guil-
tie of death.

iphan.
ana-
ph. &
ugust.
er. 18.

owly
his A-
logie,
g. 30.
46.

• Me-
ctoa
Rom. 8.
lun. l.
inst. c.
.a. 1. &
x l. 3.c.
p. 8,

stand condemned of heresie, both by
S. Epiphanius & S. Austine, for teaching
that Iudas fact was good in betrawinge
his maister; and that he fore-saw the be-
nefites which would accrew vnto vs by
Christs Passion: which in like manner
is pausible doctrine, among all the Cal-
uin Protestants: I confesse (saith Crowly)
in his Treatise entituled. (*An Apologie or
defence of the Englishe Writers*) these are
my wordes, that Gods Predestination
was the onely cause of Adams fall, but
not consequently of all sinne, for such
as haue eyes to see, doe see that Adams
fall was good, &c. yea it is a doctrine
generally maintained by Protestants (as
shall be shewed in the next Chapter)
that Absolons incestuous adulterie,
was Gods worke: that Iudas treason, was
as well the worke of God, as Paules vo-
cation: that the Iewes in abusinge our
Sauiour, and puttinge him to death,
did nothing but what the hand and
Counsell of God had formerly decreed,
and the like.

Againe

Againe in this same age the Plote-
maiians, stand condemned for heretikes
by Saint Epiphanius , for maintaining,
*that God had commanded some impossible
things.* And in particular touching, the
inseparable knot of marriage; which do- * Caluin
ctrine is generally maintained by all 1. 2. Insti-
Protestants ; as appeareth not onely in cap. 7 n. 3
that they (contrarie to Gods word) ad- & in An-
mit of so many diuorces as shalbe anone tid. con-
shewed , but in that they maintaine * Trid. scil.
that the Law of God , or the ten Com- 6. c. 2.
mandements are impossible to be kept, a) Idem
(a) no not though a man be never so committē
much assited or holpen by Gods in Act.
grace. 14. v. 10

Againe in the same age the Riscilliás,
Marcites or Marcocites stand condem- Ireneus
ned for heretikes, both by S. Ireneus, S. 1. 1. c.
Augustine and S. Epiphanius , for tea- Epiph.
ching that the order of Priest-hood, ap- hær. 49
pertained as well to women as to men; August
which doctrine is also maintained by Lu- hær. 7;
ther and Caluin, the two great Euange-
lists of Protestanisme.

In the administration of the (b) Sa- b) Luth-
craments , it is not materiall whether tom. 7.
the partie (administring) be male or Wit. L.
female , young or old , neither neede in noti- Eccles.
we in the administration of the Word fol. 150
and

and Baptisme be inquisitioe touchinge
these &c. (c) I say, that among Christian
people, there is no difference of persons,
no Lay person, no Clarke, no Shaueling,
no Anointed person, no Monke &c.
Priesthood in the New Testament is spi-
ritual, and common to all Christians, for
wee are all Priests in the same manner
that Christ was a Priest: this sentence is
vnrefistable, that in the New Testament,
there are no visible Priests, nor can be
different from lay persons, and such as
be, are without the warrant of Scripture:
therefore all Christians, haue power and
authoritie to Preach though Behemoth,
with all his adherents burst himselfe:
when Paule saith, it is not permitted for
a woman to speake in the Church, he
doth not speak simply, as if it were vtterly
vnlawful for a womā to Preach, but if
a man be in presence, that is able to per-
forme that office, otherwise it is neces-
sarie that a woman speake &c. all Chri-
stians, both men and women, young and
old, maisters and seruants, mistresses
and maides, learned and vnlearned, are
Priests: neither is there any difference,
if their faith be alike: whosoeuer hath
crept out of baptisme, may glorie, that
he is both a Priest, a Bishop, and a Pope.

Hether-

Hetherto Martin Luther. And the like is they are taught by other Protestants; yea Gualterus affirmeth, that in Prouince, Strafburg, and infinite other places, women haue bene ordinarily seene to Preach; and that not many yeares since, a woman among the Abbenacenses, when a certaine Minister denied to giue her the Communion, went angerly home to her owne house, and there laying a Napkin vpon a stoole, set Bread & Wine thereon, and with her owne handes, ministred vnto her selfe, the Lords supper.

Lastly in this same age, Prodigus the father of the Adamites, stands condemned of heresie by the * Doctors of that time, for teaching that Christian people, were not ryed in conscience, to performe anie Lawe; which doctrine is likewise maintained by Luther and Caluin, and followed in practise by all sorts of Protestants. It is certaine, that neither Men nor Angels, can impose any Lawes vpon Christian men, vnlesse they be willing thereunto. So Luther, and the like is affirmed of Caluin. Yea he dareth to say: that humane Lawes, how good or honest soever, whether they be made by Church or Magistrate, doe not binde in conscience (a) and that the promised libertie in the

all common to women.

See Caluin. l. 4.

Inst. c. 19. n. 28. &c.

4. nu. 9.

Gualtier in Cronographia.

sec. 12. in coll. c. 16.

See Florimundus Raimundus l. 7. de Origine heret. c. 7.

n. 5. wher he reci-

teth many stories to this pur-

pose.

* See Ban-

ton. anno 120. n. 37.

Luther in captiuir.

Babilon. tom. 2.

Ien. lat. fol. 247.

173. 275. Caluin.

and Baptisme be inquisitioe touchinge
 1) Idē to. 2 these &c. (c) I say, that among Christian
 en. Lat l. people, there is no difference of persons,
 le abro- no Lay person, no Clarke, no Shaueling,
 ñada Mis. no Anointed person, no Monke &c.
 2. fol 442 Priesthood in the New Testament is spi-
 43. 444. ritual, and common to all Christians, for
 47. 448. 49 & to. wee are all Priests in the same manner
 Ger. Ien. pl. 336. &c that Christ was a Priest: this sentence is
 24. apud vnrefistable, that in the New Testament,
 tenber- there are no visible Priests, nor can be
 ium. cau different from lay persons, and such as
 7. See so tom. 2 be, are without the warrant of Scripture:
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 vit. fol. authoritie to Preach though Behemoth,
 p. & li. de with all his adherents burst himselfe:
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 eclesiae g. 36. a woman to speake in the Church, he
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 ning vp ly vnlawful for a womā to Preach, but if
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 nts, to ptise, to allians, both men and women, young and
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all common to women.
See Caluin. l. 4.
Inst. c. 19.
n 28. &c.
4. nu. 9.
Gualtier in Cronographia.
ſee 12. in coll. c. 16.

See Florimundus Raimundus l. 7. de Origine heret. c. 7. n. 5. wher he reci- teth many stories to this pur- pose.

* See Ban- ron. anno 120. n. 37. Luther in captiuir. Babilon. tom. 2. Ien. lat. fol. 247. 173. 275. Caluin.

¶ 4. Inst. c. Gospel, did acknowledge neither King
10. nu. 1. nor Magistrate among men.
See also

1. 3. Inst. c.

19. nu. 2.

& 4

a) Lib. 4

Instit. c.

20. n. 1.

Augustin.

contra

Faultum

Manich. l.

20. c. 5. 6. 7.

& hær. 40.

* See Pra-

teolus v.

Manichei.

b) Caluin

1. 3. Instit.

c. 23. n. 9.

e) Idem

1. 1. Inst.

1. 18. n. 4.

d) Ibid.

nu. 1.

IN the third age, the Manichaens stand condemned by S. Augustine, for that they condemned Altars ; which is so currant a doctrine among Protestats, that Mr. Smith in his Sermon vpon the Lords Supper, boldly affirmeth, that the word Altar hath bene kept in the Church by the diuel, that men should beleue the Eucharist to be a Sacrifice.

Againe the same Manichees * heretically attributed all thinges to fate or ineuitable necessitie , and affirmed, that sinne could not be auoided ; which is a doctrine now generally maintained by all Protestant doctors, especially those of the Caluinian sect (b) *reprobi euadere nequeunt peccandi necessitate, &c.* The Reprobates cannot auoid the necessitie of sinning; especially , when by ordinance of God, such a necessitie of sinning is imposed vpon them. So Caluin. Yea there is nothing more familiar with him & his

followers, then to affirme (c) that man being iustly forced by God , doth doe what is not lawfull for him ; (d) that God caused Absolon to pollute by incestuous Adulterie , his fathers bed ; (e) that

seueret petere, aut ne raptor audeat violare. Yee The veiles haue made bare the heades already couered of Nonnes, with veiles. From the which heades ye haue pulled away the tokens of profession. The which tokens seeme to haue bene inuented against rape and woers. In the Veile there is a signe of the will, & not a helpe of the chastitie. That neither the woer who had spouled her (that is to say) who had the promise of marieng her, may continue in wooing, nor the violent defiler, may be so bold as to defile her by violence. *Signum est ergo, non Sacramentum.* The veile therfore is a signe, and not a Sacrament. So that the Donatists whose doctrine was to vndoe all the Sacra- ments of the Catholikes, yet needed not by that doctrine to pluck of the veile of the Nonnes, which was a signe of their Profession, and not such a Sacrament as the Church hath but seuen.

77. But our new brethren be not content to change the veiles of the professed Nonnes, but also they would vtterly take away all such profession of chastitie, professing therin themselues to be the fleshy limmes of all vnchastitie, and worse then euer the Donatists were. In so much that S. Hieron faith it generally of all Heretiques: *Raro diligit castitatem Hereticus.*

In Osee 7.

78. Victor in his story of the persecution

An. D. 440 of the Vandales, declareth that when Gen-
li i. persec sericus had sent Proculus into a Province of
Vand.

Afrike called Egitana, the Arrian souldiers
spoiling all things, made themselues shertes
Altar clo- and floppes, *De Pallys Altaris*, of the clothes
thes. wherwith the Altar was couered. Was not
the same thing done also in these our daies?

79. Moreouer Victor saith: *Arriani tem-
pore quo Sacraenta Dei populo porrigebantur,
introeuntes maximo cum furore, Corpus Christi
& Sanguinem pavimento sparserunt, & illud
pollutis pedibus calcauerunt.* The Arrians at the
time when the Sacraments of God were ge-
uen to the people, entring in with great fury,
sprinkled the Bodie and Bloud of Christ on
the pavement, and trode vpon it with their
polluted feete.

80. Be mery Masters (or rather be sorry)
yee that are called the professours of this new
Gospell. Your Gospell is not so new as it
might seeme. Yee are not the first that haue
troden Christes holy body vnder your feet.
The Arrians did it before you. Their paterne
yee followed in England. Your paterne againe
your bretheren in the Low countries
do follow. Behold, whose example yee haue
followed in this life, their company yee shall
haue in the life to come, if yee repente not,
which God graunt yee may do while the
time serueth.

81. I would gladly haue wished, that this much might haue suffised for the shewing what examples the Church spoilers and Image breakers folowed in this their outrage. But they on the other side crie to me, that I omitte such examples as make for them. For Epiphanius (say they) a good Catholike, yet did cut a veile or corteine wherin an Image of Christ, or of some Saint was hanged vp at the Church dore. True it is that such a fact is reported in a certaine Epistle which goeth vnder his name, and it is said to haue bene turned out of Greeke into Latine by S. Hieron. But whether in deed he wrote any such thing, I will not affirme, but Damascene suspecteth it to be corrupted, or els to haue bene the worke of one who had the same name.

82. And although it were the worke of that Epiphanius who wrote against heresies, yet I knowe not what circumstance of the place or time did moue him to doe it. By the conjecture of the words (there alleadged) he was moued, as though it were against the Authoritie of the Scriptures to haue a mans Image hang in the Church. And by the Scriptures he surely ment the commaundement, which forbiddeth the Jewes to make or to worship any Image for God. But it forbiddeth not the hauing of Images for a good re-

The deede
of Epipha-
nius,

Damascen-
nus in apo-
loget. 1.
pro vene-
rat. Ima-
ginum.

membrance of holly men, as (God willing),
it shalbe declared hereafter.

83. But if other Christians had not bene
of an other minde, the Church of Theodore
the Martyr had not had his Martyrdome
set forth on the Church walls in Imagerie, as
Nyssenus doth witnesse it had. And others
had neither hanged vp an Image in that
Church, where Epiphanius is saied to haue
taken it downe, nor murmured against that
his deede, as it is written that they did. If
then it was either an other Epiphanius, or
els his priuate opinion, that God would haue
no Images hanged vp in Churches, yet ther-
in he was not stubborne. Otherwise he
would haue noted the contrary practise and
opinion for an heresie, whereas in all his
booke of heresies (although he wrote of a-
bout foure score) he noteth no such opinion
(of hauing Images in the Church) for hereti-
cal Damascene also doth witnesse, that Epi-
phanius his owne Church was decked with
Images. It maie well be that considering the
countrie where that Image was, he did that
thing there, at that time, which in an other
countrie, and time, he would not haue done.
For that place where he did cutte that veile,
was Anablatha, a village of the Land of
Iewrie, where both many Pagans were, not
yet conuerted to the faith, and some Iewes

Gregorius
Nyssenus
de Theo-
doro Mar-
tyre.

In Apolo-
gia.

were,

were, who being late conuerted, were not so perfittlie recovered from their old custome of abstaining from grauen or painted Images, that they were willing to see any Images externallie set vp and reverenced. The which reason also might well moue the Conuncell of Eliberis in Spaine to decree, that councel of pictures should not be in the Church, lest, that which is worshiped and adored, should be painted on the walls. Now reason sheweth, that when a thing not euill of it selfe (as that painting of holie Images) is forbidden in one certaine place (that is to say, vpon the Church wals) the same is permitted in other places, as in private houes. And againe, that holy thing which is permitted in other places, sauing in the Church, is much more meete of it selfe to be permitted in the Church, then anie where els, notwithstanding that the particu-lar respect either of persecutions, or of noe offending the weake, may so preuaile for the time, that Images might be forbidden in the Church also, for all things are to be ruled by charitie. To returne againe to Epiphanius, I would not haue his honor and good name perished by a fact, which (if it were his fact and Epistle) was done with a priuate zeale, according to his owne opinion in that place and time, whereas we must be present-like ruled by the whole Vniuersall Bodie of the Catholike churche.

OF the
Eliberis.
Can. 35.

Christendome, which in other times & places hath vniuersally iudged otherwise. But lette vs consider that sith no man might possibly haue broken those Images which had not bene set vp before, it must needes be, that the setters vp of Images were more auncient and neere to the Apostles time, then those who pulled them downe.

Note.

84. As then before and in Epiphanius time Images were made, and sette vp (which thing shalbe more largelie proued hereafter) so straight after his time they were so common in all the Churches of the East (& much more of the West) that he was accompted an hereticke, who saied it was vnlawfull, either to haue them, or to reuerence them.

85. To shew an example hereof: Nicēphorus writeth, that in the time of Anastasius the first (which was not long after Epiphanius) one Xenaias a Persian, being by condition a bandman, and fleeing from his Master, was (though he were not baptised) made a Bishop of Hierapolis, partly through his owne hypocrisy, and partie kept in the same by Petrus Cnapheus, an Eutychian hereticke.

86. Of this Xenaias Nicēphorus writeth in this wise: *Xenaias iste primus (O audacem animum, & os impudens) vocem illam euocuit: Christi & eorum qui illi plauere, imagines venerandas*

randas non esse. This Xenaias (O rash minde and wicked mouth) was the first, that spew-ed out that saying, that the Images neither of Christ, nor yet of those who pleased him, should be worshipped. And how could Xenaias speake against the worshipping of Images, if in his time and before, they were not woorshipped? But if Xenaias was the first, who said Christes and his Saints Images might not be worshipped, surelie Epiphanius (who was a good time before Xenaias) had taught no such thing.

87. If then Xenaias be the Author of this doctrine, it hath for looth a good foundation. For he being no Christian, yet tooke vpon him to plaje the Bishop: a meete foundation for such a house, as now the heretikes build vpon it.

88. After Xenaias a hundred yeeres we reade, that Serenus a Bishop of Marfils brak Images in the Church, when he sawe them adored of certeine persons: and yet none could haue bene broken then, if none had bene there. And although he was induced with zeale so to doe, and not with that spirite of heresie (as now men are) yet S. Gregorie wrote vnto him, saying. *Fragere easdem Imagines non debuisse iudicamus.* We iudge that you ought not to haue broken those Images. And what wise man doutech; but 109.

An.D. 55

that Saint Gregorie, so good and learned a Father his iudgement ought to be of more authority, then the fact of Serenus? Who what so euer he was, he was not like S. Gregorie.

The ob-
jection;

89. Yea but, you will saie, it seemeth that S. Gregorie him selfe wold not haue Images adored, for he saith: *Tua ergo Frater-
nitas & illas seruare, & ab earum adoratu po-
pulum prohibere debuit.* Therefore your brotherhood ought, both to haue sauied those Images, and to haue forbidden the people from adoring them. Lo (saith the aduersarie) S. Gregorie would haue the people kept from adoring Images.

The an-
were.

90. I aunswere, there is a double adoration, one proper to God, which must be geuen to no Image: another is common to honorable creatures, and is in another degree extended to their similitudes and remembrances. S. Gregorie doth forbid all adoration, sauing such as is conuenient for that Image which stirreth vp in vs good remembrance. And this to be his minde, it is euident by an other place of his, where he writeth to Secondinus in this wise.

91. *Scis quid Imaginem Salvatoris nostri non
ideo petis, ut quasi Deum colas.* I know that you desire not that Image of our Sauiour to purpose, to worship it as God. Behold what worship

worship is forbidden to Images . Verelie such as is proper to God. But what? Is there none els that may become Images ? it followeth . *Nos non quasi ante diuinitatem ante Imaginem prosternimur , sed illum adoramus , quem per imaginem aut natum , aut passum , sed & in throno sedentem recordamur .* We fall downe before the Image , not as before the Godhead , but we adore him whome by the Image we remember to haue bene borne , or to haue suffred , and also to sitte in the Throne .

92. The falling downe before the Image , is a kinde of reuerence , but it is no such reverence as we geue to God. We fall dounre before God , with the belefe that he is our maker: we fal downe before the image , only as before a good remembrâce of our Maker. For although we may adore God without the Image , yet when we are put in minde thereof by the Image , then as S. Gregorie speaketh , *per imaginem Christum recordamur & adoramus* ; we remember , and we adore Christ by the Image .

93. It is then cleere , that S. Gregorie gaue some honour to that Image of Christ , before the which he confesseth himselfe to fall downe , so that we haue more aduantage by S. Gregorie iustlie reproving Serenus , then damage by Serenus breaking downe Images ,

ges, who yet did onlie reprove the vnlawfull adoring of Images, and did not reprove (as it is to be thought) that adoration, which indeede became Images.

Anno. D.
680.

94. About one hundred yeeres after S. Gregorie, the heresie of the Monothelites rayged, who falselie affirmed Christ to haue but one will (whereas indeede he hath twain, one according to his Divine nature, an other according to his humane) against which heresie, the sixt Generall Councell was gathered vnder Pope Agatho.

In D. 710
Paulus
Diaconus
Rer. Rom.
lib. 8.

95. After those daies one Philippicus Emperour of the East, expelled Cyrus the Catholike Archbishop of Constantinople, and ferre in his place Iohannes an Archeretike.

And consequentlie he threw downe the pictures of all the fathers of the six generall Councells, which Images were sette vp in the church porche of Sophia. Likewise the same Philippicus sent ynto Constantinus the Pope of Rome, his letters containing heresie, shew which letters the Pope by the aduile of his Councell refused, and caused other pictures to be made in the porche of S. Peters church in Rome, where all the Fathers of the six generall Councells were painted.

Now, this casting downe of Images by Philippicus the Hereticke, and the same defended by Constantinus a Catholike high Bishop,

Praui
dogmatis.

Image breakers.

39

Bishop, and also by the whole people of Rome, doth evidentlie shew the breakers of Images to be much more like vnto the old heretikes, then vnto the auncient Catholiks. But Philippicus not enjoying his Empire full three yeeres, had for his successour Anastasius, who intending to correct his predecessors fault, sent word to Constantine the Bishop of Rome, that he fauored the sixt Generall Councell. But his armie not content with his gouernement, inquiring for Theodosius (whom Paulus Diaconus calleth Orthodo^x a man of a right faith) chose him Emperour, who straight waies did set vp in his old place that reuerend Image (or table) wherein the six Generall Councells were painted. After Theodosius one Leo of Isauria succeeded in the Empire, who (as Zonaras reporteth) when he was yet but a vile artisan, being told of two Iewes which were astronomers, that he should be Emperour, and thereupon hauing promised that if it came so to passe, he would graunt them whatioever they asked: afterward at their request he commanede the Images of Christ and of his Saints at Constantinople to be taken downe, and to be destroied, in consideration of which his wickednes, he was surnamed Iconomachus, the fighter against Images. He willed also the Bishop of Rome to doe the like in the

Anno. D.

730.

1000. 2000.

the Citie of Rome, if he would haue his fa-
vour. From which detestable Act the good
Bishop of Rome Gregorius secundus, and
Germanus the Bishop of Constantinople,
and all the Catholikes of Italie so abhorred,
that (had not the Bishop of Rome dissua-
ded them) the Venetians, and the souldiours
of Rauenna, would haue made a new Em-
perour.

Paulus
Diaconus
Li. s. c. vii.

97. Constantinus following his fathers
An. D. 740 impietie, withstood likewise the honouring
of Images. But what maner of man I prai-

In verbo
Keryg-
mae
Bacot-
ius.

C. Iona

.011

An. 790.

you was he? forsooth, as Suidas doth report, one that denied our Lady the name of Gods Mother, saying our Lady to be like a bag, or purse, which is nothing worth when the mony is out of it, one that worshipped Venus, called vp deuils, and sacrificed mans flesh. Is it any wonder if such a man could not abide the honour of holy Images? Surelie he wold not gladly haue the Saints themselves honbred. But vnder Irene and her sonne Constantinus, honour was yet againe restored to holy Images, and that not only with bare word & commaundement of the Prince (which yet had better suffised for the honouring of Images, then other Princes word could suffice for dishonouring them) but a Generall Councell was lawfullye called throughout all the world, Wherin it was de-
cided

fined by three hundred and fiftie Bishops gathered out of the East and West, that holie Images ought lawfullie to be honoured.

98. Thus whereas many changes were among the Emperours and Bishops, some putting vp, and other pulling downe the ho-
lie Images, yet the Catholickes passed their aduersaries in foure things.

For the
honour of
Images.

99. First, because the Images were once quietly made & adored through al the whole Church. Neither do we reade of anie sedition or tumult concerning the setting vp of Images, verilie because the vse of them was euen from the Apostles, yea from Christ him selfe, as it shall afterward appeare: but the pulling downe of them was a matter of much tumult and trouble.

100. Secondly, whereas they were set vp in all Aegipt, Syria, Asia, Grece, Italie, Fraunce, and Spaine, with other like places, they were only pulled downe in one part of Grece, to witte, in Constantinople, and such other places where the Emperour kept his residence. But in all the West Church, no such thing was done publickly, no nor in Alexandria, Ierusalem, or Antioche as it is witnessed in the seventh Councell.

Zohara
in vita
Constantini
& Irenaei

101. Such odds then as is betweene the part and the whole, is also betweene the Catholickes defending Images, and the Image breakers.

breakers. And who knoweth not that the Catholike faith is that, which is in the whole, and not that which is in the part? For Hereticks alwaies make parts and priuate factions, as S. Augustine teacheth.

102. Thirdlie the Catholickes haue for them two Auncient Generall Councells orderlie gathered, the sixth, and the seventh, whereunto all the Patriarkes came, or sent. But the Image breakers although they affected an assemblie at Ephesus, or at Constantinople for that matter, yet they both did it by stealth, and manie of the doers recanted their deede.

103. Fourthly how much so euer the same Constantinus, vnder whome being a Child the Councell was kept, did afterward goe from it, how much soeuer Leo Armenius made a new battell against Images, yet both Theophilus at the end of his reigne allowed holy Images, and vnder the Empire of Michael and holy Theodora his wife, the Images were againe fullie restored. In so much that to these daies wheresoeuer the Grecians haue any Church or place to serue God in, the same are adorned with painted Images, and reverenced by the people, as any man maie easilie see in the Grecians Church at Venice. The possessiōn therefore doth as well remaine with the Catholickes in the

An. 840.
Nic. pho-
num in ar-
gumento
2. Tomi.

end,

and, as they were also in possession of holy Images, before they beganne to be throwen downe.

104. What a vanitie is it now to alleage the solitarie and vncertaine fact of Epiphanius alone, or of a few hereticall and wicked Emperours, against the knowen and approued practise of all the rest of the Fathers, of all Generall Councells, and of all Churches and ages? But what? Is here an end of pulling downe, or at the least of wishing Images and holy Altars to be pulled downe? No suerlie. There were yet moe heretickes of that minde beside thole which I haue hitherto rehersed.

Anno. D^r
1180.
Euthym,
Part. 2, tit.
23.

105. In the time of Alexius the Emperour there were a kinde of heretickes detected in Grece, which were called in the Slaun tongue, *bogomili*, as much to say, as intercessours to God for mercie. Thele men refected *Moyses bookes*, affirmed that there was but one person of the Blessed Trinitie, Satan the Deuil to be the elder sonne of God the Father. And among other many blasphemies, they said, all Priests, and all the Fathers were damned, as the worshippers of Images, calling them *Idols*. After them follow the beggers of Lions in France, called *Waldenses*.

106. The Saracens also, who now worship Mahomer, called the Christians *Idolatours*, Tit. 24.

tours, because they reverenced Christes Croſſe.

Of this rafe cometh John Wiclef, to Wiclef,

Anno. D. 1350. Ioannes Hus succeeded, to him Luther, to
him Caluin, to him Hermannus.

Anno. D. 1400. 107. And ſo that heinous doctrine of

Anno. D. spoiling Churches, and of breaking Aultars,
1517. and Images is deriued from the Iezabelites,

Anno. D. 1566. from the Nabuchodonosorits, from the Baltazarits, from the Manichees, from Julian

the Apostata, from the Arians, from the Donatists, from the Vigilantians, from the Eutichians, from the Monothelits, from Infidels, from Leo the faouurer of Jewes, from Copronimus the worshipper of Deuils, from the Bogomiles, from the Saracens, to the Waldenses, to the Wiclefists, to the Huguenots, and laſt of all to the Caluinists in the Low countries. A meete genealogie for ſuch an opinion, as detesteth the remembrances of God, of Christ, and of his Saints.

108. How farre is this maine Sacrilege and filthy Church-robing, from all the mindes and practise of the Patriarches, of the Prophets, of the Apostles, and of the Ancient Fathers, and of all Catholique people?

109. If we read the holy Bible, and the Ecclesiasticall Histories ſiō Noe downward, we ſhall finde all the bleſſed Patriarchs, Prophets, Bishops, Emperours and Kinges, to haue bene occupied in erecting Altars, in buil-

Gen. 8.

22. 28.

Exo. 8.

26. 27.

3. Actg. 8,

building vp Churches and chapels, in decking them with Jewels, Images, and other like ornaments, in visiting the graues of the Martyrs, in praying to the Saints, in offring great and precious giftes to Churches, in increasing the rents of the Clergie, in making Churchyards and places where men may be reverently buried, in diuising meanes to haue psalmes, hymnes and seruice song both night and daie.

110. By such deedes Lucina the old Matrone in the time of S. Cyprian, by such deedes Constantinus and his Mother Helena, by such Theodosius, Carolus Magnus, and his vertuouse successours, haue deserued great praise. The which Histories as to prosecute perticularly, it were a long trauaile: so I can not omit one storie, the which is so notable, that all posteritie ought to renew it in daily talke and remembrance.

Platina.

111. Alaricus King of the Gothes in the daies of Pope Innocentius and of Honorius the Emperor, conquered the Citie of Rome, *Anno: D. 414.* which to that day had kept the world vnder the Romaine Empire and Lawes. But when the said Alaricus shold enter into the Citie, he made a proclamation, as Paulus Orosius doth witnessse, *Vt si qui in Sacra loca praecipue que in Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri & Pauli basilicas confugissent, hos in primis inviolatos secu-* *Orosius* *l. 7. c. 29,*

vosque esse finerent. That if any did flee to the sacred places, and specially to the Temples of the Apostles Peter and Paule, those cheefly the souldiours should suffer to be safe and inviolated. The historie which now followeth, shalbe translated word for word out of Orofius.

132. This law standing, it happened that ~~a noble Goth came into a certaine house belōging to the Patrimonie~~ of the Church, where he found a virgin consecrated vnto God which also was well growen in yeares. And when he had honestly and soberly demanded of this Nonne what gold and siluer she had, she brought forth a great quantity of siluer and golden plate, at the weight, price, workmanship and rare quality wherof when the barbarous Goth was astonied, she said, *Hac Petri Apostoli sacra ministeria sunt, prouiso si audes, de facto tu videris &c.* These are the holy thinges wherwith S.Peter is serued, take of them if thou dare, and stand to thine owne deede, for I am not able to defend them. The barbarous man for the reuerence of Religion, moued with the feare of God and with the fidelitie of the virgin, sent word of this matter to Alaricus. Who immediatly commaunded all the plate euen as it was, to be caried to the Church of the Apostle: willing also the virgin and all other Christians, who wold

S. Peters
plate.

wold go together with her, to be safeguarded thither.

113. The house was a long way from the church, about the one halfe of the Cittie, being betweene that house, and S. Peters Church. That notwithstanding, the siluer and golden vessels are caried of diuerse men, one by one openly, ouer their heads, and this godlie pōpe is garded with the naked swords of strangers running from euery part of the citie therunto. Hymnes are song publikly to God by the Romans and by the Goths. The trumpet of saftie soundeth at large in the verie destruction of the Citie, and calleth out for those that lay hidden. *The Vessels of Christ,* run on euery side to the Vessels of Peter. Yea many Pagans are mingled with the Christians, though not in faith, yet in profession and shew. And yet euen so they scape for the time, to the end they may be the more confounded for their not beleeuing. The more abundantly the Romans fleeing to the vessels are gathered about them, the more greedily the strangers are spread on euery side to defend them.

114. O holy and vnspeakable discretion of Gods iudgement. O holie and healthfull fludde, which springing from a little house, whiles it goeth with a blessed course to the Seats of the Saints, it carieth with its godly violence

Of Images, and
violence into the bosome of safety the wan-
dering soules which were in danger. O that
goodly trumpet of Christian warfare, which
with a most sweete musike invitinge all men
generally to life, whom (being obedient) it
raised not to their saluation, it left them
inexcusable to their damnation. Hitherto
Orosius.

115. Loth I am to leaue off this most mer-
ueilous Historie, and yet much more fol-
loweth in Orosius. Such reverence then a
barbarous Prince gaue vnto the Temples
which bare the names of the Saintes, and
specially to those of S. Peter and of S. Paul,
and to the holy vessels which did belong to
their Churches. Whereat S. Austine wor-
thely so wondred, that he made. xxij. booke
intituled *of the citie of God*, grounding all his
talke vpon the said miracle. For he sheweth
that no Conquerour did vse at any time to
spare the Temples or Gods of those Cities
which he had conquered. And yet so great
honor was done to the Temples which bare
the names of S. Peter, and of S. Paule, that
notonly the Christians, but also the heathen
people who fled thither, as many did, yea
the gold and siluer, was saued by the only
protection of the holy place.

116. O how far off is this fact of Alaricus
from the horrible contempt, which now is
shewed

ugustin.
e Ciuit.
cili. 1. c.
. 2. 4. .7.
cat.

Mewed by Christians against the holy Temples of God and of his Saints? The Gothes being then barbarous men, did fauor the Romans for their Temples and holy vessells sake: now Priestes and Clerks are the more hated, because they serue those Temples, A.M.D.4 and haue the keeping of holy vessels. The enemie then spared those holy giftes in a strange place, which now the citizens doe spoile within their owne Churches. One Nonne at that time found such fauor as thou-san's now can not find. Then Hymnes were song, and men waited vpon the holy plate all to honor them for his sake whiche they were: now the same plate is cut in peeces, and best gospeller is he, that can do most contumely to it, in so much, that it were far better to be prisoner and bondman to Alarius, or to the Gothes, then to be Prelate or Pri-mate where these men liue.

117. O lamentable generation, how long thincke you to enjoy this vnnaturall practise, this brutishe disorder, this worse then Heathenish furie? Whose Temples haue you spoiled? Whose plate haue you cut in pieces? Whose Altars haue you broken? Whose Images haue you throwen downe? Whether those of Mars and Venus, or of Christe and of his Apostles, his Martyrs, his Virgins, and Confessours? Whose

Note.

names at the least you ought to haue ren-
dered for their Maisters sake, if you had not
hated their Master himselfe.

118. I would be sory to haue spoken so
vehemently, if I wist my woords shold not
move some one to Repentaunce: to Repen-
taunce, I meane not onelie of the Spoile of
the Churches (wherat many Caluinistes and
Lutherans were not) but to repentaunce
also concerning the Doctrine whence that
spoile proceeded. Of that detestable doctri-
ne I speake, which made these men to spoile
Churches, and to break the Images of most
honorable personages. Which doctrine is
common to our countrimen with the Flem-
minges, albeit the A^tt of spoiling be not al-
together common.

d. de.
nus &
ginib.

119. He that is ashamed of those Image
breakers, and yet fauoureth their faith, wher-
by they did these thinges, it is no more to
saie, but that by beleeuing one waie, that
which he hateth an other way, he both be-
leeueth that which he hateth, and hateth
that which he beleeueth: if he loue both
their faith and their deedes, he hateth them
whose Temples and Images they haue so
persecuted.

120. The Christian Emperours *Arcadius,*
Honorius, *Theodosius,* and *Valentinian* doe not
only allow the erecting vp of their owne
Images,

Images, and of the Images of other like Princes (yet without adoring them) but also they permitte Images to be sette vp in the honour of Judges and of other temporall Magistrates, so that it be done by their charges, to whose honour the Image is erected.

121. Moreover they commaunded those who fled to the Images of the Prince or Emperor, to be safe from all violence. Much less can it be imagined, that they commaunded Christes owne Image to be pulled doun, whersoever it should be, as M. Iewel falselie and impudently affirmeth.

122. Their Edict is in the *Code of the Civil Law*, and it only commandeth the signe of Christes Crosse *sollis*, to be taken vp from the ground, lest by negligence it should be trod on, but not *sollis*, to be taken downe, as M. Iewel doth english it. Wherof I shall haue occasion to speake hereafter.

123. Now it sufficeth to warne the Reader, that those Christian Emperours honored, the signe of our Sauiour so much, that they wold not haue it made or grauen vpon the ground, least if it were troden vpon, it should be vsed dishonorably.

124. The Title in the *Code of Justinian* where that law standeth is conceiued in these words. *Nemini licere signum Saluatoris Christi, humi, vel in silico, vel in marmore, aut inscul-*

In co
Iustin
Tit. I

pere, aut pingere. Lette it be lawfull for no man, either to graue or paint the Signe of our Sauiour Christ vpon the ground, either in flint, or in marble.

125. Thus all the historie of setting vp or of pulling downe Images, being briefly perused, we finde on M. Jewels side, nothinge but Heathens or Infidels, Renegates, Iewes, Heretickes, Idolatours, or many lyes made vpon Christian Princes. And contrarie wise we haue for vs, the woman healed p. 14. v. 1. of the issue of blood, who being praised by Christ him selfe for her faith, did sette vp an Image vnto him. From which day forward all Catholique Fathers, and Counells, and Christians made, and reverenced holy Images, as it shall appeare hereafter.

That the Word of God forbiddeth not generally the making of all kind of Images.

THE V. CHAPTER.

1. **G**od said vnto the people of Israel, 20. *Thou shalt haue no straunge Gods before me, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe a graven Image, nor any likenes (of that) which is in heauen above, and in the earth beneath, nor of those things*

things which are in the waters under the earth. By this precept, Images are forbidden to be made, either to this end, that they should be taken for Gods, or els that they should be set vp by any priuate mans appointment. For after that God had said, *Thou shalt haue no strange Gods*: immediatly shewing what are *strange Gods* (as then things were abused) he saide, thou shalt make no grauen Image or likenes of any creature, thereby declaring that the Children of Israel should not doe as the Heathens didde, who accompted grauen or painted Images, for their true Gods.

2. Againe, lest the people should thinke that they might freelie make all kinde of Images (so that they tooke them not for Gods) an other limitation and restraint is also cast in, when God saith, *Thou shalt not make to thy selfe, any likenes of any creature*. In saying thou shall not make *to thy selfe*, any Image, he saith in effect: Albeit thou maist haue such Images as are not taken for Goddes, yet because I know the weakenesse of thy faith, thou shalt not make them *to thy selfe*, nor allow them by thine owne priuate iudgement. But thou maist lawfullie haue such Images, as either my seruaunt Moyses and other Prophetes, during the time of the Lawe,

To thy
selfe.

or

or els my Apostles and their Successours in
the time of grace shall thinke meete for thes
to haue.

3. This to be the true meaning of Gods
commaundement, it may well appeere in the
Exo. 25. Chapters immediately following, where
God commaundeth Moyses to make, *two*
s. Reg. 6. *golden Cherubins with their countenances tur-*
&c 7. *ned toward the Propitiatorie,* that is to saie to-
2. Paral ward the place whence God gaue answere to
cap. 3 the people by his Priestes and seruants.
2. Histe. 7.

c. 18.

a. Hom. in

4. Mart.

5 In Litur.

4. In vita

Gerua.

5 de ösen.

Euang.

li. i. c. 10.

6 de The-

odooro.

7 in Na-

tali. Ioh.

8 ep. 53 li. 7

9 concil.

Nicen. 3.

4. Likewise Salomon made and did sett
in the Temple the likenes of Lions, of Oxen,
of Date trees, of Pomegranets, and of diuers
other Flowers, as well in the inmost parte
named the holy of holies, as in the Temple
and Quiere called the holy place.

5. Moreouer it is evident by 1. Eusebius,
2. S. Basil, 3. Chrysostome, 4. S. Ambrose,
5. S. Austin, 6. Gregorius Nyssenus, 7. Pau-
linus, 8. Gregorius Magnus. 9. Yea by the
perpetuall practise of the whole Church of
Christ, that it was neuer taken for vnlaw-
full, to haue such holy Images in Christian
Churches, or in priuate houses, as might pro-
voke our minds to remember good and holy
stories, and consequently to follow the ex-
ample of our most vertuous Auncestours.

6. Otherwise if by this precept, *Thou shalt*
Exod. 20. *not make to thy selfe the similitude of any thing*
that

that is in heauen aboue, or in the earth beneath,
&c. It be ment precisely, that the resembling
of any creature, is vtterly forbidden by the
first Table (which containeth the immuta-
ble law of nature, concerning the true wor-
ship of God) then all the world were in the
state of damnation, for making, hauing, kee-
ping, or beholding the similitude of all kind
of creatures, some in their booke continued
De Animalibus, of beasts, or *De Piscibus*, of
Fishes, or *De Anibus*, of Birds, or *De Herbis*,
of Herbes, others in the tapestrie, and in their
galleries, which are filled with diuerse gra-
uen or painted Images: and then all the Pro-
phets, and high Priests, and the whole peo-
ple of the Iewes hadde likewise done against
law of nature, for hauing the Images of the
two Cherubins in the Tabernacle, and of
the twelue Oxen, and of Pomegranets in the
Temple. Yea the knowledge of grauing and
caruing were vtterly reprooved, and Bezeleel Exod. 31:
and Ooliab, to whome God inspired that
science, had bene the practisers of an vnlaw-
full art.

7. But if it be against all reason to say or
think so, doubtles the similitude of every
thing, is not absolutely forbidden to be made,
how soever it be forbidden to be adored,
wherof we shall speake hereafter.

8. Therefore when we reade in the holy Psal. 115:
Scrip-

Scripture the makers of Images to be accus'd, either it is written of the makers of Idols expressly (albeit the english translation every where almost turneth Idols into Images) or else it is ment of those, who make wanton Images, cailed in Greeke, ἀγάλματα. Or certainly of such as make Images, to an euill end or purpose.

Cap. 14.

9. But it is vtterly impossible, that the making of an Image (onely as it is the similitude of an other thing) should be forbidden. Otherwise God should be contrary to him selfe. For he hath so made vs, that we

**Man doth
learne na-
turally by
conceiuing
Images.**

can not learne, know, or vnderstand any thing, without conceiuing the same in some corporall Image or likenes. Our knowledge commeth by our senses, of the which our eyes are the cheefe. They see visible creatures, and heare soundes or voices, whereby the common sense being informed with such Images as it is able to conceaue, offereth the same to our phantasie or imagination, whence the minde beginneth to gather knowledge and to print (as it were) or to graue in it selfe that, which is powred into it by the senses.

10. And so ofte as the minde will either vse or encrease its knowledge, it alwaies returneth to those Images and figures, which it receaued and laied vp, to the end it might haue

hatre wherewith to occupie or to delight it
I selfe, when occasion should require.

11. If then at what time I reade that Christ ^{Of things} died, with his handes stretched and nailed that are e-
upon the woode of the Crosse, I may, and quall, once
necessarily must devise with my selfe an I-^{may be}
mage which sheweth so much (otherwise I ^{done as} well as
can neuer vnderstand that which I read) how
can a wise man doubt, but that thing may be
lawfullye set foorth in an outward Image,
which must be necessarily conceiuied in an
internall Image? The forbidding then of I-
mages to the Iewes, was neither generall,
that they might haue none at all, nor any im-
mutable law of God, but onely a Tempo-
rall prohibition after a certeine maner to that
people, for the auoiding of a greater incon-
uenience.

12. If then it be Lawfull, to make and to
haue Images, notwithstanding it be written
(*Thou shalt make to thy selfe no likenes of any
thing*) as the making which seemeth to be Exod. 20:
generally forbidden, is by conference of o-
ther places, restrained to a particular prohi-
bition, *so the worshipping of Images also being
forbidden* (according to the same meaning as
the making was) is to be meant after such
sorte, as other places of Scripture, and as
the conference of the law of nature doth de-
clare vnto vs.

13. Which

13. Which being so (as in deede it is) they were more foolish then the stoanes which they pulled doun, who exercised such crueltie vpon Images, as though the handy work it selfe were vnlawfull, or as though the gaung of conuenient reuerence to them, were by no meanes tollerable. Whereas if all Images were to bee rooted vppe, they shoulde not haue spared their owne braines, which are more full of Images (that I may not say of Idols) then all the Churches in Christendome are.

That the Word of God onely forbiddeth Latracy which is Gods owne honour, to be geuen to artificiall Images, leauing to the law of Nature, & to the gouernours of his Church, what other honor may be geuen to holy Images.

THE VI. CHAPTER.

1. **A**s the making of Images for this end, that they should be taken for Gods is absolutely forbidden, so is the worshipping of them, with that honor which is proper to God, absolutely forbidden. But as Images might be made by the Authoritie of Moyses or of the gouernours of Gods people (this only prouided, that they be not taken for Gods) so may they likewise be worshipped.

As the making was forbide after a sort, so was the

shipped by the Authoritie of Gods Church, worshipped
this only prouiso being made, that Gods ring.
owne honour be not geuen to them . For
God perceiving well, that when the Im-
ages of honorable personages are made, ho-
nour is naturally due vnto them , because
their Images might be sette foorth for ho-
nourable (as the Image of Iuppiter , or of
Mars) who were not in deede honourable:
And againe, because though the persons were
honourable (as Moyses, or Elias) the weake
Iewes , who were in knowledge like Chil-
dren, and in Faith of spirit like Bond menne,
might geue to much honour to the Images
of these men : For these causes God com-
maunded, that neither any Image should be
made by priuate Authoritie , nor any ado-
red with *Latria*, which is the honour pecu-
liarly due to God.

2. *Non adorabis ea*, saith God, *neque coles*. Exod. 20.
Thou shalt not adore them , nor geue them
the worshippe which is due to God alone.

3. For albeit the woerde which signifieth
Adoration, be indifferent to God , or to Ho-
nourable Creatures, yet the woordes. *Neque*
coles , doe in Greeke betoken the peculiar
Honour of God, *οὐδὲ μὴ γαῖας*, nor thou
shalt not geue them that Honour, which is
due vnto God.

4. And surely how soever we name or
call

call this or that honour, if in deede there be no difference betweene honour, and honour,

Exo. 20. when God biddeth vs honour our father and mother, or when S. Peter biddeth vs, honour

s. Pet. 2. the king, it must be meant, that we shouldeue them Gods owne proper honour. But seeing it is absurd, to geue vnto creatures the honour due vnto the Creator, we must confess a difference betweene honour due to God, and honour due to his Frinds or Ministers.

5. Now for so much as the proper dutie of honouring God is (by such instrumentes of the holy Ghost, as haue written in Greekes or Latin) most commonlie named *latris*, we must thincke, that when we are forbidden **Exo. 20.** **Math. 4.** **s. Cor. 10.** to make anie Image, and to geue it such honour as is described by the word *latris*, that then we are onlie forbidden to geue godlike honour to anie artificial Image. Which thing smae welll appeere by the circumstance of the place, where the commaundement is written.

6. For whereas it is said in the beginning of the commaundements, I am the Lord thy

Exo. 20. God, and afterward, thou shalt not haue strange

¹ Gods before me, and thidlie, whereas he had

² said, thou shalt not make an idol (for so the

³ 70. Interpreters did translate it into Greeke)

and wheras it followeth, thou shalt not make

the

the similitude of anie thinge , and yet againe ,⁴
 wheras it is afterward added , thou shalt not
 adore them , nor gene them latria , that is to saie ,
 Gods owne honour , and last of all , wheras im-⁵
 mediatlie after , it doth followe , Ego sum Do-
 minus Deus tuus , fortis , Zelotes , I am the Lord
 thy God , strong , Ieloule (the which words ⁶
 import , that God will haue no creature to
 be made his companion in honour) it may
 well appeere by all that goeth before , and
 followeth after , that God mindeth to forbid
 the woorship of false Gods , and of all such
 Idols as are made , and vsed to be worshiped
 as either being themselues true Gods , or as
 being the representation of such creatures ,
 which are taken for true Gods : for by all
 meanes we are forbidden to thinke , either
 anie creature to be God , or that God his
 owne Diuine substance and incomprehensi-
 ble nature maie be represented by anie arti-
 ficiall Image .

The cir-
 cumstance
 of the pla-
 ce doth
 shew the
 meaning
 therof.

7. It is a much sweeter contemplation to consider , that (wheras our bodily and imper-
 fire nature wold needs couet alwaies to wor-
 ship God by some bodilie Image , or other)
 God the Fathers owne natural Image and
 Sonne , tooke of the Virgin Marie our natu- Christ by
 ral flesh , to the end we might not lack some his incar-
 corporal truth of bodie and flesh , wherin we nation ra-
 might boldlie worship , the diuine substance . keth away
 Idolatry .

8. After then that this Manhood was assumed, seeing the shape of man maie be lawfullie shewed by an artificiall Image, we making the Image of Christ, who was man, doe not make any such Idol or similitude, as God forbad the Iewes to make, but we make a similitude of an honorable truth, whereas no Idol doth represent a truth.

9. Againe, we geue not vnto Christes artificiall Image any godly honor, albeit we being prouoked by the sight thereof, doe geue godly honour to Christ, who is immediatly adored by the warning of the artificiall Image.

10. Furthermore if we consider, that the Israelites, to whom this precept was geuen, came late out of Aegipt, where creatures were adored in steede of God him selfe, and that they were like to liue in the land of promise with diuers of the Gentils, who al worshipped Idols: this thing well weighed, it is no wonder to see God so diligentlie forbid them the making of any similitude to themselves, to them selues, I say. For God gaue them a corporall similitude of two Angels, but they might not make any Image to them selues, by their owne devise, or priuate devotion, which is oftentimes the cause of superstition.

11. And therefore the Catholikes must not

not sticke to priuate doings of their owne deuile, but only to that knownen Citie of the Church built vpon an hill, *which can not be hidden*, which Church is the piller and sure stay of truth, and it hath alwaies made and conuenientlie worshipped (not false Idols) but true representations, of Christ and of his Saints.

12. Briefly the precept of God forbiddeth the making and woorshipping of Idols, and the geuing of Gods owne honour, to anie similitude made by mans arte. But our Images be no Idols.

13. After this sorte did Philo (being a Jew most excellentlie learned) expound this precept of God, concerning Images: for he giueth a reason of the order of the commaundements saying: *When God had spoken of his owne substance, and honour, order would that he should tell, how his holy name was to be vsed.* It was then as the peculiar substance and name, so the peculiar honour of God, whereof the commaundement spake, and not euerie other honour, whiche may in diuerse considerations, be geuen to diuerse things, but euer in respect of some vertue, and of some honorable qualitie.

14. The same Philo in another place, affirmeth this precept of not adoring Images, *De eo quis rer. diuin. te forbid, that no man may make himself any bares sit,*

God beside his creatour, vt solus verè Deus colatur, to the end he that is in deede God alone, may be worshipped.

15. Saint Augustine speaking of the diuisiōn of the ten Commaundements, saith, that those, who will haue three only to belong to God (of which minde himselfe in that place is) do make all that to be one precept, whatsoeuer is commaunded concerning one God to be worshipped. *Ne aliud preter illum pro Deo colatur,* that nothing els beside one God, māie be worshiped for God. And after: *Et re vera quod dictum est, non erunt tibi Diij alij præter me, hoc ipsum perfectius explicatur, cum prohibentur colendæ figmenta.* And trulie (saith S. Augustine) that which is said, there shalbe none other Gods to thee besides me, the same selfe things is more perfittlie inlarged, when false Images, and forged thinges, are forbidden to be worshipped.

16. By which words of S. Augustine we plainly perceave, that the words, thou shalt not adore nor worship any Image, are no more to say, but thou shalt not haue any other God besideme. So that the woorshipping of an Image is then forbidden, when it is made a God vnto vs. For whereas God saith three things, *the first,* I am the Lord thy God, *the second,* thou shalt haue none other Gods, *the third,* thou shalt not make

nor

uper
xod. q.
1.

nor woorship any Image: all these three sayings (by the iudgement of S. Augustine) are but the repeting of one thing in diuerse wordes. Which if it be so, these wordes, *thou shalt not worship any Image*, do not forbid all kind of worship to all manner of Images, but they forbid all such worship, as belongeth to the nature and substance of God himselfe, and so much doth the Greeke word of *latria* import.

17. It maie be said vnto me, that God forbiddeth not only the worshipping of Images, as of God, but also that he forbiddeth vs to *adore Images*, by any meanes, or to bow downe to them. For he saith, *Non adorabis ea*, thou shalt not adore them.

18. I aunswere, Adoration is a doutfull word, and it may signifie either the proper honour of God, or also the honour of creatures, accordingly as *Abraham adored the people of the land of Chanaan*. But in an other place the *Angel refused to be adored*, saying, *adore God*.

19. Whereby we learne, that sometime adoration apperteineth to God alone, sithens otherwise it is euident, that the Angels sometimes haue bene adored.

20. Now then we knowe, that in these wordes, *non adorabis ea*, thou shalt not adore them it is meant, thou shalt not adore them

Quæst. 71.
super Exod.
dum.

Exo. 20.

Gen. 23.
Apoc. 19

Gen. 18.
Iud. 13.

with this mind, that they are Gods, because the word *neque coles*, which followeth, doth declare what kind of adoration he speaketh of, verily of that which is one with *Latria*, by which worde the holy Scripture describeth that most passinge worship which we geue to God, as he is God. For so S. Augustine saith, *Latria debetur Deo, non nisi tanquam Deo.* Latria is such an excellent honour, as is due to God: *Dulia verò debetur Deo tanquam Domino*, the honour of *Doulia* is due to God also, but it is not properly belonging to his substance, but to his gouernment & Lordship.

*Aug. sup.
exo. q. 94.*

*Quæst. 39.
in exo.*

1. Cor. 16.

2. cor. 10.

21. Theodoretus likewise doth witness, that this precept calleth the Iewes *a cultu demonum*, from the worshipping of deuiles: meaning that all Idols and false Images are dedicated vnto Deuils, as also S. Paule hath declared. But as it is not possible iustly to say, that Christes Image is dedicated to the devil: so it is not possible to be true, that the same precept which forbiddeth the worshipping of such Images as are vnder the power of the devil, should therby forbid the worshipping of the Images of Christ and of his Saints, which are only the signes of good and godly things.

22. By this which hath beeé hitherto declared it may appeare, how wel & truly M. Iewel cōpareth Gods words & M. Hardings together.

23. Is. 46.

23. *Iewell.* God saith, thou shalt make to thy selfe no grauen Image: M. Harding saith, thou shalt make to thy selfe grauen Images. In his Replie fol. 494.

24. *Sander.* Neither God nor M. Harding say only so, as you report, if at the least we take saying for meaning, as it ought to be taken. For when God beganne to shew his meaning, he in deede began also his saying, with these words, *thou shalt make to thy selfe no grauen Image:* but as his meaninge was, that no grauen Image should be made to be worshipped as God, so he afterward ended also his saying, with these wordes, *thou shalt not adore them, nor geue them the honour due to God alone.*

25. Therefore M. Iewell did euill to diuide Gods saying. And by that his diuision, I am sure he hath condemned his owne conscience. For I dare say, him selfe is not of this minde, that whosoeuer maketh anie grauen Image at all, or keepeth it being made (for all is one) is therefore straight against God. For then Beseleel, Ooliab, and all grauers, were by the practising of their art, Gods ennemis. And all tapestrie and painting, were by the same reason, to be remoued from the vse of men.

26. But seeing M. Iewell is not of this minde, that whosoeuer maketh, or hath in his house anie grauen, or painted Image, is thereby

Exo. 31.

thereby an Ennemie to God , and subiect to eternall Damnation (as one that hath broken Gods commaundement , wherein he saied, *thou shalt make to thy selfe no grauen Image*, why doth he burden D. Harding with these wordes, *thou shalt make to thy selfe grauen Images*: more then he burdeneth all the worlde, yea him selfe with hauing or keeping grauen or painted Images? For the signe of the Crosse, and the Queenes Maiesties face in her coynes, is a kind of grauen Image, and I thinke M. Iewel hath some of them in his purse.

27. Againe, M. Harding saith not, thou shalt make to thy selfe grauen Images , but only thou maist lawfully make, or haue those grauen Images (which not thou to thy selfe, but) which the vniuersall Church bath vsed to make, and to leaue to thee. It were a great holy day, in the which M. Iewel could say the whole truth either by God or man.

28. Iewel . God saith : *Thou shalt not fall downe to them, nor worship them:* M. Harding saith, *thou shalt fall downe to them, and worship them.*

29. Sander. D. Harding commaundeth not, that which God forbiddeth . But God forbiddeth his owne honour to be geuen to images, least they should be abused as Gods: M. Harding defendeth, that an other degree of

In his
Replie
fol. 496.

of honour, incomparably inferiour to that, which is due to God, may be geuen, nor for all that to euery Image, but only to the Images of Gods owne friendes. And that not for the Images owne sakes, but for their sakes, whose Images they are.

30. Now iudge thou (good Reader) whether M. Iewel be a wrangler, or no. For he is a wrangler, who knowing his aduersarie to meane one waie, yet presteth him with wordes, which may haue an other vnderstanding.

31. Either you must proue (M. Iewel) that D. Harding will haue Gods owne honour geuen to Images (the which thing his owne hart and wordes denie) or els you must proue, that all maner of honour is forbidden to be geuen to any kinde of Image: and then you haue againt your opinion the lawe of nature, the word of God, the iudgement of the auncient Fathers, the Decrees of generall Councells, and the practise of the whole Church, as it shalbe declared hereafter.

32. But perhaps you will choose the third way, teaching that there is in all but one kinde of honour. The which being due to God alone, none at al remaineth for Images.

33. Now then it remaineth to be proued (albeit I haue touched it before) that there are two kinds of honour, of the which one may

apper-

apperteine to creatures (and therby to the Images of honorable personages) and the other must be reserved to God alone.

*De Ciuita.
Dcl li. 10.
sap. i. & cli.
Bz. c. 10.*

34. S. Augustine saith. *Latria secundum consuetudinem qua locuti sunt, qui nobis diuina eloquia considerunt, aut semper, aut tam frequenter, ut pene semper, ea dicitur seruitus, qua pertinet ad colendum Deum.* According to the custome of their speaking, who by writing deliuered the holy Scriptures vnto vs, that seruice which is appointed to the worshipping of God, is either alwaies called *latria*, or it is so often called *latria*, that it is in manner alwaies so called. On the other side S. Augustine saith. *Ea seruitus quæ debetur hominibus, secundum quam præcipit Apostolus, doulous, seruos Dominis suis subditos esse. alio nomine Grace nuncupari solet.* That seruice which is due to men, according to which S. Paule commandeth seruants to be vnder their masters, is called in Greeke by an other name; that other name is, *doula*, whereof S. Paule saith in an other place, *διὰ τὸ ἀγάπης θλεύστε ἀλλήλοις.* *Per charitatem seruire inuicem,* Serue yee one an other by charitie. Now all Seruice importeth the geuing of some honour to him, whom we serue.

Gal. 5.

35. As therefore we maie serue S. Paule, that is to say, as we may honour him, by thinking him our Superiour and Master, so

for

for his sake we maie Serue, that is to say, we may honour his Image , as a thing of his, thinking anie thing of his to be aboue vs (at the least, in signification) for S. Paules owne excessive honour.

36. Neither is this *Idolodoulia* (as M. Iewel sometime scoffeth) that is to say , this our Seruice done to Images (in putting off our cap, or in looking toward them reuerently, as we passe by them) is not the Seruing of Idols (as M. Iewel termeth it) . For, to haue an Idol serued, or honoured, it must be supposed, that the Image of Christ or of S. Paul is an Idol. Which opinion I had rather M. Iewel held, then I. For it is in deede a Lewish opinion, and more meete for Antichrist his own members to beleue, then for those who know Christes Image to be as farre off from being an Idol, as Christ him selfe is farre from being a deuil. For so S. Paule defineth an Idol, as if he had saied, it is an instrument to serue or to honour the deuil withal.

37. But seing M. Iewel confesseth himself to honour the Sacrament of Christes Supper , which he teacheth to be an Image of Christes body and bloud (as I will proue afterward) and yet seing he beleueth none other substance to be in the Sacrament besides bread and wine , and seing he will not giue *latræ*, that is to say , Gods owne honoures

nour to bread and wine: it doth iuincibly follow, that M. Iewel serueth, that is to saye, honoureth some Image. Now as he would not haue vs to call him therefore a Seruer of Idols, or a Seruer of Images: euen so it may please him (for his owne sake) to spare vs. For as he doth not end his honour in the bread and wine, but from thence referreth it vnto Christ him selfe: euen so doe we referre all our honour from all Images, vnto the first patterne of them, not suffering our Seruice or honour to rest or to end in the Image which we honour.

38. Thus I conclude, that a certaine honour is due to holy Images by the way of passing by, as it were (for the honour goeth from them to the first samplars) & that Gods word only forbiddeth vs to giue vnto Images the honour of *latraria*, which is due to God alone: leauing vs to his owne word, to the doctrine of his Apostle, to the lawe of nature, to the examples of wise men, and to the vniuersall practise of all good Christians, to know what other kind or degree of honour is due to all holy Images.

What

What an Artificiall Image is, and of a naturall
and an Artificiall Image. And how some
honour may be geuen to Artifi-
ciall Images.

THE VII. CHAPTER.

1. AS Gregorie Nazianzene teacheth,
A hac est natura imaginis, μίμησις φύσης
ἀρχέτυπου, καὶ οὐ λέγεται, vt imitatione id expri- De Theol.
mat, a quo primum deducitur, & cuius imago dici- lib. 4:
sur. This is the nature of an Image, to shew

by imitation (or by likenes of forme) that
thing, whence it is copied out, and whereof
it beareth the name.

2. Likewise S. Chrysostome saith: *Imagi-*
nem, quatenus Imago est, etiam apud nos ex om- Hom. 3 ad
ni parte ei cuius est, Imago, correspondentem ac
similem esse oportet. An Image euен among
men must (in that respect as it is an Image)
be in all pointes like and correspondent to
that, whereof it is the Image.

3. Here it is to be noted, that euery reall
thing which is in this worlde, hath both a
nature of its owne, and also a severall sub-
sistence, or beeing, the which subsistence in
reasonable substance, is called a person. For
example: My nature is to be a reasonable
Creature, which hath life and sense. My
person

person is that kinde of being, wherin my nature is so limited, and fitted, or made apt for me alone, that it serueth none other creature beside me, in all the worlde.

4. As therfore euery man, yea euery thing hath a Nature, and a Person, or a seuerall Subsistence: so eche of them may haue an Image of it selfe, but not after one sorte.

A natural Image. 5. For a mans nature may onely be represented by a naturall Image, that is to say, by an other thing which taketh of him the same nature, which him selfe hath. For euery thing begetteth an other thing like vnto it selfe, as when the sonne is naturally begotten of his Father, then he is made the naturall Image of his Father.

6. In so much that if the Father be God by nature, the Sonne begotten of him, must needes be God by nature. If the Father be man, the sonne also must haue mans nature, and thereby he is the naturall Image of his Father.

A artificial image 7. But although a mans nature can by no meanes be expressed by art, yet his person, or at the least wise his outward shape may be right wel expressed, and represented, by grauing, painting, or otherwise by fashioning the same in wax, earth, or like matter. The cause why the shape of our Persons may be represented by arte, and not our natures,

is,

is, for that, the Artificer who worketh by his owne knowledge , is able to conceiue in his vnderstanding, and afterward to foorme outwardly , that proper shape of euery thinge which he perceiueth by his seſes that it hath. But the inward nature which he neuer saw, nor was able to see naked , and as it is in it ſelfe, that nature he is not able to conceiue in his owne imagination , and therefore he can draw foorth no reſemblance therof.

8. And that all artificiall Images do repreſent the ſhape of our persons , and not our natures, the very expeſience and common uſe of ſpeaking fully declarereth . For if wee come where an Image of Cicero standeth , a right wiſe man may , and ſometimes doth ſay, *Here is Cicero, or this is a man,* taking the word man , for a thing which heareth and ſignifieth the person, and not the nature of a man . For albeit it be no propre ſpeach , to ſay of the Image of S. Paule, *This is S. Paule:* yet it is uſed , because the name of the thin- Aug. li. q.
ges them ſelues, are often times in common in gen. & impeach geuen to their ſignes and Images. ep. 23.

9. But certainly no meane wiſe man coming to the ſame Image of S. Paul or of Ci- cero, did, wil, or can iuſtly ſay, *This is a living or a reasonable creature.* And yet, if the Image did as well beare and ſhew a representation of mans nature , as it doth of his person , as well

well it might be called a reasonable creature (by that figure of speach, which calleth the signes by the names of the thinges them selues) as it is by the same figure of speach called S. Paule, or Cicero.

10. But seeing it is vtterly out of vse, to say by an artificial Image of S. Paul, *This is a reasonable creature*, Or, *This is a living thing which hath sense*, it is cleere, that an artificial Image is onely the Image of the person, or rather of the personall shape of euery man whome it signifieth, and not all the Image of his nature. Howbeit we are brought into remembrance of the nature also, by the means of seeing the person represented.

The Ob.
fection.

11. This much being confessed, it is easie to answere their Argument, who say, that *An Image of Christ can not be made, except it be a lying Image, because his Godhead can not be represented in an Image*, *which yet is the most excellent part of him*. I answere, that although Christ had bene onely a man, yet his Image would not haue represented, no, not so much as his humane nature, but only by a consequent. Much lesse any man should require, to haue Christes Diuine nature represented and sette foorth in an Image, or els to accompt it a lying Image. For an artificial Image, setteth foorth onely the onward shape and foorme of euery thing, and not also the inward

The an-
swere.

inward substance. How then canne it be a lying Image, which representeth such an externall shape of Christ, as he had indeede?

12. For all be it he had not a mortall and humane person, but assumed and vnted the true nature of man, to his onely Diuine person, yet as S. Paul testifieth. *Formam seruus accipiens in similitudinem hominum factus, habitu inuentus (est) ut homo.* Taking the shape Philip. 2: of a seruaunt (and) made to the likenes of men, he was found in clothing as man. That shape which Christ tooke, that similitude which he bare walking on the earth, that figure or clothing which he was found in, if any man represent by Art, his Image can not be a lying Image. For although it expresse not all that was in Christ, yet that which it representeth, is true.

13. As therefore when he liued in the worlde, and was seene and touched of his Apostles, the only shape of man was seene, and not either the person of man, which he had not, or the naked Substance of man (which is not seene but by his Accidents) or the Godhead (which hath no such forme at all; as is able to be seene of mortall men) so now by his Image the same only shape of man is expressed, & not either his Godhead, or his humaine substance, or any person

Note. of man. On the other side, as when he ligned, by the shape of his Manhood, the faifthfull were leadde to his true manhood, and thence to his diuine nature, and person : so in his Image we are put in minde, first of his humaine shape and figure, and thence we are also caried vp to the remembrance of his humaine nature, and so vpward to his Diuine nature and person.

14. If then we paint as much as the Apostles sawe, our image is no more a lyng Image, then their sight was a lyng sight. But as they might lawfully see the onlie shape of man, beleeving all the rest accordinge as they were taught : so may we lawfully paint the only shape of Christes manhood, leauing the rest to be supplied by faith and by the preaching of wile & learned men.

15. Hitherto then we haue shewed and proued, that euerie artificial Image representeth the shape of the person, and not the nature of that principal paterne, whence it taketh its copie or extract.

16. Out of which principle, this conclusion is deriued, that it is neither lawfull, nor possible for any man to make by art an Image, which may expresse the nature and substance of God, of Angels, or of any other creature : because no artificer can him selfe conceaue or sette foorth, the inward and inuisible

uible nature of anything.

17. Secondly, it will follow, that it is a possible & lawfull to make an Image, which may represent the personal proprietie of any knownen creature: because God hath left that arte to man, and willed the same to be vsed in his owne Tabernacle, and Temple at Ie- Exo. 25: rusalem.

18. Thirdlie, the three persons of the ³ Blessed Trinitie (excepting the visible shape of Christes manhood) and the infinite Persons of Angels can not properly be expressed in any artificial Image, for that the artificer doth not know their proper shape and forme, as whome he neuer saw.

19. Fourthly, by whatsoeuer visions, revelations, or maner, the Persons of the Blessed Trinitie haue bene shewed in the holie Scripture to be three, after that sorte, it becometh vs to signifie (not in deede, that this is the Image of the true Personne of the Father, or of God the Sonne, or of the holie Ghost, but) only that by these maner of signes it is shewed, that there is a seuerall Person of the Father, a seueral Person of the Sonne, and a seueral Personne of the holy Ghost.

20. For as we may lawfullie preache of those Angels whome Abraham sawe to be three, and adored one, and of that vision which is in Daniel, wherein, ^{Genet. 18:} ^{Dan. 7:} *as if were the sonne*

sonne of man came to one of auncient yeeres,
Whose garment was white like snowe, and the
baires of his head like the pure wool: & as I may
preache that historie, wherein God the Fa-
Matth. 3. ther said of Christ: *This is my derebeloued Son-*
ne, and that the holy Ghost came downe, *as*
it were a doun; and as out of them I may shew,
that there are three Personnes: right so I may
sette forth in painting, or in grauing, the
selfe same visions, and reuelations, to the
end the people maie know and remember,
that there are three Persons, of the Father,
of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost.

21. For seing we learne by eyes, as also
by eares, I see no reason, why that may not
be painted before our eyes, which may be
preached to our eares.

22. Againe, seing he that can reade the ho-
lie Scriptures, must needs finde the said vi-
sions in the Bible: why may not he as well
see on the Church wall, as in white paper,
speciallie seing moe can vnderstand the mea-
ning of an Image, then can reade and vnder-
stand the Bible?

23. Saint Gregorie saith. *Ab re non facimus,*
Ad Secun- *si per visibilia, inuisibilia demonstramus.* We do
dinū lib. 7. not amisse, if by things which are seene, we
crist. 53. shew things that are not seene.

24. I know (good Reader) with what
wranglers I haue to doe, and therefore I must
saie

saike it againe , I would not haue any Image
of the Trinitie , to be taken or meant to be
the true Image or print of the Persons of the
Blessed Trinitie (against any such Image S.
Augustine speaketh) but only , to be a sha-
dowing and shewing to vs , that there are
three seuerall Persons , of one naturall God-
head.

Augstn.
de fide &
Symb.c.7

25. The Angels likewise may be painted Exo. 25.
and grauen according to the forme, wherein
they were grauen with wings in the taberna-
cle, or els wherein they appeered to the Pro-
phets, or Apostles.

26. The briefe summe is , that a naturall
Image expresseth and imitateth the verie sub-
stance of that thing, whose Image it is : the
artificiall Image expresseth onlie the shape of
the person and propriety of anie thing, ac-
cording to that forme, which the artificer
doth iustly conceaue thereof.

27. Seing then an Image made by art is
not able to expresse the naturall substance of
any thing , and yet the personall proprietie
that is resembled, can not be sette before our
eyes without some substance or other : *the
artificial Image must borrow an other substance,*
wherin it may shew its own representation.

The ma-
terial part
of an I-

28. That other substance , whether it be mage,
wood, stone, gold, paper, or any like stiffe,
is not anie essential part of an Image in it self,

although it be the materiall part of this, or
of that Image, as the which can not be shew-
ed to our eyes, without some like matter.

29. But as a circle in its owne nature is
perfitt without sand, paper, stone or any like
stuff, and yet it can not be shewed to our eyes,
except it be drawen out in some matter or
other: euен so the Image is perfitte in it selfe,
without wood, stone, or paper, but not
shewed to vs, vnlesse it haue a ground wher-
in it may appeere.

30. As therefore the painter or grauer had
the Image which he now setteth forth vp-
on the wal, or vpon the stone, much more
perfite in his owne head and minde, before
he did visibly paint or graue the same: right
so, he that feeth the Image vpon the wall, or
in a stone, may much better conceaue it in
his owne vnderstanding, then that outward
shape can commend it vnto him.

31. If then the Image may be separated by
our vnderstanding, from the materiall sub-
stance wherein it is shewed, as soone as we
haue printed the said Image in our own head
and mind: either it hath no truth at all to be
referred vnto (and then it is a vaine Idol, and
onlie a phantasticall thing) or if it be an Im-
age of a truth, it hath none other reall person
or proprietie to stay in, beside that truth
whereof it is the Image, and thereunto it is
straight

The ab-
stracting
of an Ima-
ge frō its
matter.

The ioy-
ing of
the Image
with the
truthe.

straight waies referred by him; that vnderstandeth whose Image it is. For he saith or thinketh immediatlie, *this is Christ*, or, *this is S. Peter*, or, *this is our Lady*, ioyning the Image to that truth, whereunto it belongeth.

32. So that, if we see the Image of Christ crucified, we straight lay aside the brasie, yron, or wood, whereupon that Image was drawnen or made, and we apprehend Christ himselfe, to whose person that Image doth leade vs.

33. This being so, the minde can not diuide the Image from the truth, in so much that if a man see an Image, and know not to whome it maie be referred, he asketh, whose Image is this? shewing therby, that his mind is not satisfied, for that it hath not a knownen person, whereunto that Image may be ioyned, according as the nature thereof requireth. For the mind is prouoked to passe immediatlie from the Image to the truth, which it standeth to signifie: and that it doth so spedilie, and sodainly, that one thought, one mouing, one act, and one intention serueth at once both the Image, and the truth therof.

Note.

34. The Image therfore being wholly referred to the truth it selfe, whiles it resteth therin, is made partaker of some of that worthines, which is in the truth it selfe, because

it is a signe and token therof. And it is not possible, but that euery signe of an honorable thinge, must partake some of the honour which is in it.

The order
how the
Image co-
mmitte
partaker
of honour

35. The outward paintinge of Christes death, moueth the bodilie eye, from the eye, our common sense taketh aduertisement, whence the phantasie or imagination is enfor- med. And when reason draweth out of that, which the phantasie sheweth, a deepe consideracion, that this Image and representation (of Christes death or of any like historie) is both true and profitable to his saluation, and worthy of honour: if then M. Iewel can finde in his hart to say, *nay, this Image is not good, or this representation is not worthy of reuerence, or it is an Idol, let him blame Images, and deny honour to them.*

36. But if to condemne this Image, or to call it an Idol, or to accompt it worthy of no honour, that is either to deny, that Christ in deede suffred for vs, or to saie that the memorie of his death is worthy of no reuerence at all (which thing no Christian ought to thinke) it seemeth to me, that Images are worthely to be esteemed, and to be reuerenced in such sort, as that remembrance deserueth, which they prouoke in vs.

37. I had thought to haue said no more in this place of the nature or condition of an Image,

Image. But after that I perceaued M. Iewel (when he had a long time discoursed of the signe of the Crosse) to conclude, that the cognisances of the Crosse painted or grauen in flags, banners, targets, and coynes, were onlie barres laid a Crosse, and no Images, I thought it needfull to warne the Reader, that my simple vnderstanding can not atteine to M. Iewels meaning.

In his
Replie
fol. , 102

38. For I tooke an Image to be the resemblance of any thing, whether it were lively &c: or dead, stones, trees, birds, stars, or Crosses: so that if Christes Crosse be resembled, that is to say, if a like forme be made to that, whereupon he suffered, in whatsoeuer matter the Crosse barres be painted or grauen, it is an Image. For what is an Image, but the imitation, or making of a thing like to the shape of such an other thing, as (in that behalfe) is resembled, and thereby accompted more principall?

39. And because it is not possible (after that Christ died vpon the Crosse) to haue any Crosse accompted more principall then his (he being the head of the Church and the first begotten among many brethren) whatsoeuer Crosse be made in all the world, and speciallie whatsoeuer Crosse is either miraculoufly shewed, or made by Christians, is of necessarie meant to be the Image and resemblance of

206 Of Images, and
of Christes Crosse.

40. Let it therefore stand also for an undoubted truth, that not only the shape of Christes owne personage, or of his Saintes, but also that the signe of Christes Crosse, is trulie and properlie an Image.

*What an Idol is, and that our Images be neither
Idols, nor be not vsed like Idols.*

THE VIII. CHAPTER.

1. WE know (saith S. Paule) that an Idoll
is nothing in the world, and againe, I say
^{2. Cor. 8.} not that an Idol is any thing. By which wordes
he meaneth to declare, that the verie first pa-
^{3. Cor. 10.}terne and *Archetypus* of the Gentils Images,
hath no reall truth in it selfe, no heauenly
power, no vertue, no abilitie to make or to
marre. For it is only a bare name or shew of
a thing, and not in deede that thing, which
it is pretended to be.

2. For he meaneth not to say, that the
wood or stone which is grauen or painted
should be nothing (sithes that is the creature
of God) but only, that the thing represented
by the grauen or painted Image, is either no-
thing in it selfe, or at the least it is nothing
toward our saluation.

3. To make this matter the plainer, we
must

must consider two kinde of false shewes, or of wrongfull appeerings, of the which, one is such, as the thing shewed thereby neither was, nor is at all extant any where: an other is such, as though it were in deede somewhat, yet it neither was, nor is that honorable thing in Religion, which it sheweth it selfe to be.

4. An example of the first sorte those Monsters may be, which were idle deuised by the Poets: of which kinde Origenes and Theodoretus write. For whereas the Seuentie Interpreters had interpreted the wordes of Gods commaundement thus: οὐ ποιήσῃ σταυτὸν εἰδωλον, οὐδὲ ταύγος δμοιώμεαι thou shalt not make an Idol to thy selfe, nor a similitude of any thing, Origen writing vpon that precept, saith thus: *Longè aliud sunt Ido- la, & aliud Dij, sicut nos nihilominus Apostolus docet, & cat.* Exo. 20. Origenes in Exod. 8. Hom. 8.

5. Idols and Gods do farre differ one from the other, as the Apostle himselfe doth teach vs. For of the Gods he said (as there are many Gods, and many Lords) but of the Idols he saith, for an idol is nothing in the world. Wherby it seemeth to me, that he did not reade lightlie those thinges whiche the law said. For he saw the difference betwenee Gods, and idols: and againe the difference betwenee idols and similitudes (or Images) for he said of the Idols, that they are not, but he did not adde 1. Cor. 8.

adde, that similitudes are not. God saith, thou shalt not make to thy selfe an Idol, neither the likenes of anything, therefore it is one thing to make an Idol, and an other to make a similitude.

9. And if it may please God to illuminate vs to those thinges which are to be said, I thincke it to be taken in this sort: that if (for examples sake) any man do make the shape or forme of any fourefooted beast, or serpent, or bird, in any kind of metal, either of gold, or siluer, or wood, or stone, and sette vp the same to be worshipped, he bath not made an Idol, but a similitude or an Image: or if he sette vp a painted picture to the same end (to be worshipped) yet we must saie he bath made a similitude. Trulie he maketh an Idol, which maketh that which is not, according to the Apostle, who saith, that an idol is nothing. But what is that which is not? It is a shape which the eye bath not seene, but the mind bath fained it to it selfe: as (for examples sake) if a man do make the bodie of a man hauing a dogge or goates head, or againe doe faine one man to haue two faces, or doe ioyne to therfore parte of a man, the hinder parte of a horse, or of a fishe: he that doth make such things as these are, doth make no similitude, but an Idol. For he maketh that which is not, neither bath it any thing like vnto it.

An Image.

An Idol.

7. Therefore the Apostle knowing these thinges saith, that an Idol is not in the world. For there is no shape taken of any thing that is ex-

tane, but that which the minde being idle and curious doth finde by chance. A similitude is, when any thing that is either in heauen, or in earth, or in the water, is formed.

8. Heere Origen teacheth vs, first that the false Gods which were so named were manie, and were in deede extant (in hell forsooth). Secondly that Idols be extant nowhere. Thirdly that Similitudes (of which kind our Images are) be the shapes and formes of things really extant.

9. According to the same sense Theodoretus hauing asked, what difference there is betweene an Idol and a similitude, answereth him selfe thus: *Idolum nihil representat, quod subsistat: similitudo vero est alicuius Imago & effigies. Quum ergo Graci quidam formos minimè subsistentes effingunt, veluti Sphyngas, Tritonas, & Centauros, Aegypti vero μηνοποσώπουσ, id est, homines canino vultu, Bucephalos, tales rerum non subsistentium fictiones, idola vocat.*

In Exod.
q. 38.

10. An Idol doth not represent any thing that is: but a similitude is the Image or shape of some thing . Therefore whereas certeine Greeks did faine formes (or shapes) of things that were not in deed, as for example Sphinx (which was fained to haue the head & han-des of a maiden, the bodie of a dogge, wings like a bird, nailes like a lion, taile like a drago, the face of a man) & Triton (who was fained

An Idol.

Sphinx.

to

Centauri. to be God of the Sea) and Centauri (who were thought to haue the vpper part of their bodies like men, and the neather part like beastes) and whereas the Egyptians fained men with dogs faces, such deuises of things (that were not in deede) he calleth Idols.

11. These Idols then were nothing at all in the world, not onlie concerning Religion, but also concerning nature. But of the second kind of Idols which are sumwhat in nature, and nothing at all in faith or in Religion, S. Augustine, S. Ambrose and commonlie all the other Fathers do expound both this place of S. Paule, and other places of holy Scripture, which forbid Idols to be worshipped.

12. Of this kind of Idols S. Augustine Aug. li. 18. faith. *Sunt & idola, sed ad salutem nihil sunt,* contra Faustum. Idols be also (or haue a being in the world) but in respect of saluation, they be nothing.

S. Ambrose is of the same mind. *Simulachrum verè nihil est, quia Imago videtur rei mortua.* An Idol or a fained Image in deede is nothing, because it seemeth the Image of a dead thing. And he meaneth the thing to be dead, not onlie to this world, but much more to life euerlasting.

13. An Idol therfore concerning the thinge represented by it, is either nothing at all (as when a feined Monster is worshipped by an Image thereof) or els it is nothing in respect of salua-

saluation, as when a devill, or a wicked man, or an vntreasable creature is worshipped, either as God him self, or as partaker of Gods grace. But the Images which we vse, are neither nothing at all, concerning the thing represented by them (sithens we do not worship either men with dogs faces, or any like feined matter, but we worship true men, as Christ, and our Lady, and S. Paule are) and also the thing represented by our Images, is not nothing in respect of saluation, sithens Christ (whose Image we worship) deserued by his death our saluation, and his blessed Saints following Christ their head, procured our saluation as much as lay in them, whiles they liued, by turning infidels and sinners, by geuing good example, by preaching, and by ministring the Sacraments, and euen to this day the same Saints be carefull for vs their fellow membres, and *pray to God for vs,* and obteine vs his grace and benefits.

*Jacob. 5:
2. Tim. 4:*

2.Mach.19

14. Therfore as the truth represented by our Images being both somewhat in nature, and much to saluation, is farre different from the Idols of the Heathens and Painyms: so are our holy Images and representations farre different from those vngodly Images and false representations, which were vled in the Temples of Infidels who worshipped false Gods. And consequently our Images are as farre

farre from materiall Idols, as Christ or his
blessed Mother and Apostles are farre from
being Monsters, Devils, or wicked men. For
looke what proportion is betweene thing
and thing, the same proportion is betweene
signe and signe of those things.

Proportion.

Li. 5. De
præparat.
Euan. c. 15

Cōtra Fau-
stum li 20.
ca 21. Ido-
latria di-
cirur corū
qui factifi-
cium ido-
lis exhib-
bent.

Contra
Faustū li.
20. ca. 21.

Ierem. 2.

15. Moreover the Gentils committed di-
uerse great abuses about their Idols, of the
which we committe neuer a one;

16. They did commonly offer Sacrifice to
the verie grauen Idol, as Eusebius declarereth.
And the wisest of them did offer to that vaine
creature, which the Idol reprelented. And
of this greeuous abuse, Idolatrie tooke spe-
cially his name. For whereas the worship of
Sacrifice (according to S. Augustins iudge-
ment) is of all other most high and most pe-
culiar to God, the Devil professing enimittie
to God, most vehementlie affected to haue
sacrifice made to him selfe, or to any other
thing which were not God. But (God be
praised) we are so free from offering sacrifice
to our holy Images, that we suffer none to
be offered, no not to those very Saints, who
fe Images we sette vp. We say not at the Al-
tar (as S. Augustine recordeth) We offer to
thee, O Peter, or, to thee O Paule : but onlie
we offer to the Blessed Trinitie, which is
one God.

17. The Gentils did sometime adore and
pray

pray vnto the verie materiall Image it selfe, saying to the wood, thou art my Father, and to the stone, thou hast begotten me, and in that case, the visible forme was not an Image to them, but God it selfe. We can not speake or thinke so of our Images. For it repugneth, and is against the nature of an Image, to be the principall thinge it selfe; and consequently not to be an Image.

18. Some other of the Gentils thought, some priuie godhead or power to be conteined really in their Images of gold or siluer, as S. Augustine declareth. But we neither ^{In Psalm.} 113. thinck nor teache any such thing, but we teache; that the only good representation of a thing worthy reuerence, is to be honoured in our Images: but who can not tell that we make such a difference betweene our Images and Sacraments, that in our Images some thing worthy honour is shewed, and not conteined, but in our Sacraments that grace & power is conteined, which is by the wordes and thinges outwardly shewed. Some other more wise & learned among the Gentils affirmed themselves, neither to worship ^{In Psal. 113.} With Godly honour the Image, nor any Deuil, but by the corporal shape to behold the signe of that thing which they intended to worship, as Saint Aultine also reporteth. For by the Image of Neptune they worshipped the Sea, by the

In Psalm. Image of Iuno, the ayer, by the Image of Vulcane, the fier. But yet therein it well appeareth, that they referred their woorship to dead elements, and to sole bodies which can receave no honour.

19. We doe not so woorshippe our Images, that any element, or vnreasonable creature is finally honoured in them: but only those blessed Saints, who are with God, are honoured in our Images, and our Images together with them for their sakes.

20. The Gentils to auoide that fowle shame of worshipping the bodily elements answered, that they woorshipped not finally the bodies of the earth, or Sea, but that they worshipped the Gods, *who bare the cheife rule in governing them.* But thereby also it well appeared, that they made moe Gods then one, and that they thought due honour might be geuen to those Gods by the meane of geuing false worship to dumme creatures, from which creatures they would haue the honour to passe againe vnto certaine peculiar Gods, who as (they supposed) were set severally to rule those creatures. This was highe Idolatrie. For the Image of Iuno being set vp in shape of a reasonable creature, as of a woman, yea of a goddesse, was directed to signifie the dead aier. And so the Image did shew a greater thing then that truth had, whose

Image

truth had, whose Image it was made.

21. Againe the ayer which is a creature and no Image, was set to signifie a God, and was honoured falsely, that an other honoure more false might be geuen thereby to that, which was not at all. Thus with all the deuiles that the Heathens could make for de-

fense of their Idols, they were alwaies found Li. 20 cō
Faustum.
cap. 20, Idolatours. For, as S. Augustine saith. *Hac*

*sunt simulachra gentium, in quibus interpretandis non habent exitum nisi ad creaturam quam condidit Deus: ut in ipsa quoque interpretatione simulachrorum, de qua se peritiores eorum iactare atque inflare consuerunt, hoc in eis fiat, quod A-
post. dicit: Coluerunt & seruierunt creatura potius quam Creatori, qui est benedictus in secula.*
Thele be the Idols of the Gentils, in the interpreting of which, they can not but end in the creature which God hath made: so that euен in the interpretation of their Idols (of which interpretatio the more learned sort of them were wont to bolt & to be proud) that was done in the, which the Apostle said: *they haue worshipped and serued the creature rather then the creatour, who is blessed for euer.* Moreouer the Deuils ruled at their pleasure the Images of the Gentils, geuing oracles and answers out of them, to the people. But the Images of Christ and of his Saints are feared of the Deuils, rather then ruled by them: nei-

ther was it euer heard of, that the foule spirits were able to abuse them to deceaue the people: and that not without a cause.

22. For the faith , intent and purpose of the Gentils and of the Christians is so farre different, that the Gentils directed theire Images , and the honour of them to an euill end, that is to saie, to vanitie, to the worshipping of many Gods, to superstition and hypocrisie : but our Images are directed altogether to the glorie of God , and to the remembrance of his benefites bestowed vpon vs.

*Li. 20. cōtra fau-
rū. cap. 23.* 23. In this respect S. Augustine saith: *Etsi
Iesus quarundam rerum similis videtur nobis esse
cum Gentibus, & ceteris.* Although we seeme to vse certeine things like as the Gentils doe, as meate, and drincke, howses , garments, bathes, and those also of vs who liue a maried life, marie and keepe wiues, and beget, nourish, and make our children inheritours: yet he vseth these thinges farre otherwise, who referreth them to an other end (beside God) then he doth, who by these thinges geueth God thancks, of whome he beleeueth no euill or falsehood.

24. Thus , I say, it chanceth likewise in Images . For albeit our Images be made of wood, of stony, or of siluer , as the Images of the Gentils are, yet he vseth Images farre other-

otherwise, who vleth them to haue a false God worshipped, then he doth who by the vse of them seeketh the honour of one true God. Now say I, forasmuch as those that are baptised and beleue well of God, and endeour to keepe his commaundements, do set vp Images to a good end; this faith of theirs, Faith. and this intent, to beautifieth their worke and worship, that it is not possible for the Deuils to abuse those Images (as their owne possession) which are dedicated to God shounour.

25. Furthermore, the Deuils coueted alwayes to mainteine the Idols of the Gentils, and with great sorrow they saw them destroyed. But they alwaies reioyfed to see our Images cast downe, and ouerthrowen, as it may well appeere, in that, they persuaded *Iulianus the renegate*, to breake and cast away the Image of Christ at Paneade in Syria.

Tripart. I
6 cap 4

26. If any man obiect against me in this place, the great abuses which haue beeene wrought about holy Images, in making their eyes to moue, their lippes to wagge, and so foorth: I answeare, those abuses came of particular euill men, who therby sought filthie lucre in certaine corners, where the Bishop was a sleepe. But these practises were never allowed in the Church of God.

The an-
swere.

27. Who'douteth also, but that the Gospell and the name of God is abused daily ?

28. Againe, those abuses were praised by men (who being not yet condemned euerlastingly, are the leſſe afraid to attempt ſuch dedes) and not by Deivils, who haue no ſuch power vpon holy things , but rather haue their tormēts increased when they approche to holy Images.

29. Thirdly the men who practised ſuch abuses, if euer they liued where and when any Lutheran or like licentious herefie was preached , they commonly became Renegates, with the firſt. And ſo they are not our Iſhame, from whome they are departed , but theiriſto whose new ſprung Congregation they haue ioyned themſelues. For if they did ſette ſo little by Religion , as not to feare to abuse the people, when by miſordering Images they might gaine a penny or two : how much more did they reioyſe to ſee Images throwen downe, whereby they gained the whole gylt and the Iewels of the Images, whole Croffes of ſiluer , cortines of ſilke , candleſtickes, copes and chalyces? They were, I warrant you, ſuch Belly-god monkes , as gaue vp their abbeis, and now be Apostatas and maried, againſt their vow made vnto God. So that the abuse was committed by men , and by ſuch men as the new Gospell (for

(for a great part) consisteth of.

30. The differences betwene the Idols of the Gentils and our Images, are briefly these.

31. First some kinde of Idols had no truth at all in nature , but were feined Monsters : All our Images haue that essentiall truth extant in the world, which they represent.

32. All their Idolles were without truth concerning faith and Religion : all our Images conteine such a truth, as belongeth to Christes faith & Religion.

33. Sacrifice was done to their Idols: not so to our Images, but only to God.

34. Their Idols belonged many times to verie wicked men : our images , which we woorshippe , belongeth alwaies to blessed Saints.

35. Some of the Gentils professed themselves to adore the vnsensible wood, or stone: we do not profess or teache any such thing, but rather the contrarie.

36. Other of the Gentils thought a certain substance of God to lye priuy in the Idol: we make our images only remembrances of holy things , and not to conteine any God-head.

37. The wisest of the Gentils adored by the Image of Iuno, or of Vulcanus, vnreasonable creatures, as the earth, or the fire , and by the, certaine Gods who gouerned those.

creatures : we adore by our Images no reasonable creature, but only Blessed soules, and one God their Maker.

38. The Deuils ruled their Idols : The same Deuils feare our Images, which are sette vp in a right faith.

39. The Deuils maintained their idols : The same couet to throwe downe our Images.

40. To be short, their Idols were dedicated by infidels to an Heathenish purpose: our Images be dedicated to a vertuouse intent. Therefore our images being so farre different from the heathenish idols, are iniurioufly by M. Iewell and such other called idols. And the conuenient worship , which we geue to them, is flaundrously called Idolatry. And where in the bible mention is made of Idols, they are falsely translated into English, by the name of images.

That it is no Idolatrie to geue conuenient worship to some creatures, and whether Images be creatures or no.

THE IX. CHAPTER.

D. Harding had said, that images were set vp in Churches, not specially to the intent the people might worship them, but partly

partly to instruct the simple, partly to stirre vp our minds to follow the example of these men, whose images we see. So that he meaneith the worship which is giuen to images, to be geuen by a consequent, as it were, and rather because it may be geuen lawfully, then that it is principallie sought to be geuen. Here vpon M. Iewel concludeth Idolatrie, after his wise kinde of reasoning.

2. *Iewell.* *An Image is a creature & no God.* In his re-
ply. And to honour a creature in that sort (as it is set fol. 497:
vp to the end to be worshipped although not spe-
cially to that end) is Idolatry, therefore by M.
Hardings owne confession, Images are set vp to be
ysed to Idolatrie.

3. *Sander.* In this argument of M. Iewels there are but fourre great faults. The first is, in that he putteth *idolum* in steede of *imago*, the second in that he putteth *latria* in steede of *doulia*. M. Iewel saith it is idolatry, to honour a creature, that is to saie, an Image of Christ or of an Apostle, in such sort as it is set vp not principally, but secondarily that it may be worshiped with such honour as is due to some creatures. for M. D. Harding defendeth that the honour due to Images, is both due by a consequent, and also that it is not *latria* nor Gods own honour, which is geuen to them, but *doulia* which is an inferiour degree of honour, Now the word Ido-
latry

latry is compounded of *latria*, & of *idolum*, & is to saie, the geuing of latria or of Gods honour to an Idol: but our Images are no Idols, and the honour we geue them is not latria: how saith he then, that by M. Hardings own confession, Images are set vp to be vled to Idolatrie? For to confess so much, he must goe against his own doctrine, which denieth *latria* to Images, and denieth *Images* to be *Idols*. Therfore though it were true that a creature were set vp to a secondarie intentio to be honoured, yet the honouring of it, should be called by D. Hardings confession *Image-doulie*, and not Idolatrie. For now we must make new names to confute new cauils & flaunders.

The third fault in M. Jewels argument, is in that he presupposeth we may set vp no creature to the intent it might be anywaies honored, although we set it not vp speciallie to that intent. Why so I priae you sir? Let vs imagin, that certain men had rebelled against the Prince, and had sworne they would neuer honour him whiles they liued. Yf these men be afterward taken, and promise to change their minde, may not the Prince be set vp in his throne, to this intent, that these men may be openlie seene to honour him in the face of all his court: or shall they commit idolatrie, who set vp the King thus to be honoured of his owne subiects?

That a creature may be set vp to be honored.

iects? then some creature which is not God, may be set vp with some intent to be honored, & yet no idolatrie committed.

4. M. Iewel shoulde haue said, that no domme, and vnreasonable creature might be set vp to be honoured for its owne sake; or els that no creature at all might be set vp to be made a God, or to be honoured with the same honour, wherewith God is honoured, and then his argument would haue bene good.

5. But I would haue answered, first, that we geue no such honour to Images, as is due to God alone. Secondly, that the honour of *doulia* may be geuen to domme creatures, in such respect, as they are made the signes of heauenly things. for so M. Iewel I am sure doth honor the Eucharist, although he (fally) thinketh it to be the only substances of bread and wine, which are creatures. And so all the Catholickes do honour baptisme (as S. Augustine confesseth) & the holy Chrism, De doctr. with such like holy Sacramets. Thirdly, if we Christian shall rip vp all things to the quicke, an Image is not properly a creature, for that is the laist fault in M. Iewels discourse, because he affirmeth an Image to be a creature. Whereas An image although the matter of it be a creature (as wood, braffe, iron, or gould) yet the image is rather a manufacture, to wit, a thing wrought upon manufac- ture, th^e creature, th^e upon

6. And yet it is not to be worshipped in respect of the art, which is in it (for the artificer might make the image of an ape as well as of a man) but it is adored , if it represent an honorable person as *Christ, S. Paul*, or any like blessed man : and then also it is not properly to be adored in it selfe, but with respect of the person whome it representeth. For as it is an image , it hath not any seuerall substance of its owne , but (concerning its matter and substance) it wholie dependeth of the mettall or stuffe wherein it is made, & concerning its person or substance , it dependeth of his naturall person whome it representeth, and according to whose shape it is made.

7. Truly no artificer is able to make a creature, or to geue it either a person or a substance of its own. Therfore an Image which is no creature of it selfe , is altogether to be referred and ioyned to its cheife paterne, and to be ruled wholie by its patern:and may be set vp to be honoured for the paterns sake, if the patern it selfe (whereunto it is to be referred and ioyned) be worthy of honour.

8. who knoweth not that the lesse difference is betwene things, the sooner they are ioyned, and as it were made one ?

There-

9. Therefore seeing an Image, although it be an other thing, yet it is not anie other thing diuerse in person from its patern, we, honoring Images for the reasonable truthes sake, neither honour a creature (as it is a dōme creature) nor commit Idolatrie by worshipping (in a lower degree) the Image of that truthe, which is in it selfe honorable, as Dauid hath witnessed Gods friends to be, saying, *Nimis honorati sunt amici tui Deus.* Thy friends o God, are very much honoured. Yet how could they be much honoured (in the sight of God) if they were not worthy of much honour?

10. By like M. Iewel would reply to this The Ob-
my answere, saying: although an Image be iection.
not a creature (as being the only worke
of mans handes, and not the worke of God
or of nature) yet it is leſſe then a creature.
And consequently it is leſſe worthy of ho-
nour, then the least creature that is.

11. This were true indeede, M. Iewel, if ^{The an-}
that which is wrought with the hand, were ^{swer,}
not a thing, which is able to stirre vs vp to a
vertuouse and good remembrance, and to
prouoke vertue in vs. For if either an Image
could be separated (as it is an Image) from
its true patern, or if the patern thereof were
not reasonable or honorable, an Image truly
were much leſſe, then any creature in the
world,

world, because it hath no proper person of its owne, as euerie other creature hath. So that the worke of mans hands, is lesse in substance then any creature, but not lesse in honour, when it is set to signifie an honorable veritie.

12. Likewise an Image that sheweth a falsehood, or which is set vp to haue an euill thing honoured by it, is lesse worthy of honour, yea rather is more dishonorable then anie creature, as S. Augustine confesseth and teacheth.

13. But as when the handie worke signifieth a foule or euill thing, it maketh a good creature of God to be accompted lesse of, then otherwise it should be (as when we breake the wood or brasse wherin an Idol is naughtily adored) euens so an Image (made by art) representing a trutht, he which truth is worthie of honour, is more to be worshipped then any vnreasonable Creature in it selfe. Because the onely similitude of an honourable truth, is of greater dignitie, then that creature which by nature can partake no honour at all, as the which hath neither reason, nor anie similitude of a reasonable person in it.

14. To geue an other example in the same kinde, the Kinges Garment be it never so base, and of small price, yet in respect that

it is about his Maiestie, although it be a seuerall creature, is more worthie of honour, then all the Gold and preciuose Stones of the newe found Land, which are not about any Prince. Whereupon S. Augustine writeth.

Si quis nostrum aut purpuram, aut diadema regale Domini, jacens inueniat, nunquid ea conabitur adorare? *Sci. 38.* De verbis

Cum vero ea Rex fuerit induitus, periculum mortis incurrit, si ea simul cum Rege quis adorare contempserit. If any of vs do finde, either the Kinges purple garment, or his Croune lying (in any place) shal we goe about to worshippe it? But when the King hath them on him, he that doth then contemne to worshippe them together with the King, doeth incurre the danger of death.

15. If then the respect betweene Purple on a Kings backe, and the same lying vpon the ground, be so diuerse, that the one waie it must be adored vnder paine of death, and the other waie it neede not be endeououred to be adored: what wonder is it, that an Image, which in respect of the matter and handie crafte therof, is worthie of no honour, yet is worthy of some honour in respect of the truth, whose similitude it beareth? Speciallie seeing there is farre greater cause, why the Image of S. Paule should be honoured, then why the Kings garment should be at all honored.

16. For seeing it is against reason for a reasonable man to honour an unreasonable creature (which is lesse than he that honoureth it) seeing yet a garment which is an unreasonable creature, may be honoured in respect that it is vpon the kings backe (whereas the same garment tarieng still the same garment, may be very well separated from the kings person, and be geuen to an other man) much more then the Image of S. Paule, which is no unreasonable creature (as it is an Image) but rather it is the similitude of a reasonable creature (and tarying still the same Image which once it was, can not in any respects be otherwise then his onely Image) much more that Image may be honoured in respect of S. Paule him selfe.

17. Last of all, when there is any daunger, least a creature should rob God of his owne honour, in that case the lesse the creature is, the farther of it is from possibilitie of hauing Gods owne honour geuen to it. Euen as, the poorer and baser a man is, the lesse iust cause a King hath to feare, least he should deprive him of his Royal Croune.

18. For this cause, whereas the Sonne of God alone is naturally the Image of his Father, and thereby of equall substance and honour with him, S. Chrysostome asketh how it chaunced, that men are called also the sonnes

nies of God, and are said to be made according to Goddes Image, wheras the Angels who are much aboue men, are neither found to be named the Sonnes, nor the Images of God? Whereunto himselfe aunswere in this wise. *Quoniam illic quidem natura sublimitas facilè complures in hanc impietatem coniecerit, hic vero tenuitas & humilitas securitatem præstat.* If the Angels should be called the Sonnes of God, or his Images, their high and excellent nature would haue brought many into this wicked minde, to haue thought the equall with God. But the low and base nature of men, taketh away all such feare.

19. And afterward: *Vbi multum erat humilitatis, ibi scripture confidenter ac securè posuit honorem: vbi vero maior natura, non item.* Where much basenes was, there the scripture did boldly and without feare, place and attribute honour (by calling men the Sonnes of God) but where the greater nature was (to witte, in Angels) there the Scripture did not attribute such honour.

Ibide.

20. If the discourse of S. Chrysostome be good (as it is) then the baser a thinge is, the rather it maie haue honour geuen to it. And therefore the Image which is made by the Artificer, and is lesse then any creature, maie with much lesse daunger be honored, then any creature it selfe.

21. Seing

Psal. 138. 21. Seing then it is evident, that some creatures maie be honoured (as the Prophete confesseth Gods Frindes to be much honoured) and seeing some vreasonable creatures must be honoured (in that behalfe as they are assumed by God to make a highe Misterie, as Baptisme) and seeing an Image is the similitude or steppe of an honourable veritie, as of Christe, or of his Saintes: it is out of all question with all reasonable men, that the Images of Saintes maie be lawfully sette vp to be honoured, without all suspition or feare of Idolatrie, notwithstandinge that they are either creatures, or els Manufactures, which is to say, lesse then Creatures, as being only the worke of mens hands.

M. Iewels Tuggling is detected concerning the Antiquitie and Inuention of Images. And specially his manifeste corrupting of Eusebius in that Argument.

THE X. CHAPTER.

1. **D**OCTOR Harding had, shewed how God in the time of Moyses Law had commaunded two Cherubins to be made, and to be sette vp in the Tabernacle, wherupon M. Iewel saith.

2. *Iewel, M. Harding douteth not to derive the*

the first inuention of his Images from God him selfe (and afterward) but learned and wise-men thincke, that the inuention hereof came first from In his the Heathens and Infidels, that knew not God. *Reply*

3. *Sander.* Whereas there are two kind of 497: Images, one which doth represent a truth, as that Christ redeemed vs, an other which representeth a starke falsehood, as that Iuppiter is God: Againe, whereas there are diuerse kinds of honour, one, which is due to God alone: an other, which is in diuerse degrees due to good men themselues: the third which is also in diuerse degrees due to the Images or representations of good men: the Heathens inuented such Images as represent a falsehood, and such honouring of them as is not due to them.

4. But Images which represent a truth, and the true honouring of them came indeed from God, and that first of all by the law of nature and of Nations, which permitteth the arte and knowledge of grauing and painting, if they be well vsed: Secondly God in the law shewed that Images might be made, by willing the two Cherubins and the Images of Lions and of Oxen to be set in the Tabernacle, & in Salomons Temple. Thirdly God in the time of the new Testament inspired his Apostles and Seruaunts to allow the making of good and true representations, the

Exo. 25:
3. Reg. 6:
2. Paral,

which were laudably made in the first three hundred yeeres after Christ, as Eusebius doth witness, about whose wordes our chiefe disputation shalbe.

5. Now cometh M. Iewel and taking vpon him to write against D. Harding (who defendeth only such Images as God hath allowed, and such as Christes Church hath vsed) bringeth in that which was spoken either of wicked Idols, or of the false worshiping of baudie and wanton Images: so that his long discourse is answered in one word: They are Idols (M. Iewel) or wanton pictures, and not the Images of holy men, wherof the booke of wisedome, S. Cyprian, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, Lactantius, and S. Athanasius do speake. Doth not your owne booke confess so much? hath not your margent these wordes out of Athanasius, γένθλιον τύπον. &c. The invention of Idols came not of good, but of euill? But you turne, *the Inuention of Images*. And because you haue translated the place falsly, haue you therby won the spurs? Shall any mans iniquitie and traitorous iuggling in Gods matters, get him credit with good men? Is euery Image an Idol? If you thinke so, then sith *the Sonne of God is the Image of God, and the figure of his Fathers substance*, the Sonne of God is with you an Idol. Or is euery Idol, an Image? Then

In his
Replie
fol. 498.

Collos. 3.

the

the pictures of those who are made with Dogs faces, are Images & consequently there are such men in deede. For every Image, if it be properly an Image, is the likenes of some truth. Otherwise it is an Idol, and no Image, as I shewed before out of Origene & Theodorete. But know you not the difference betweene an Idol and an Image? Then you are very simple, in good faith, and to meanly learned: or if you do know the difference (because doutles you are no sole) why then turn you the greeke word, Ἰδολούμ, *Idolorum*, by this english word Images? but onely because you must mainteine your cause by falsehoode. But let vs come to speake of the state of the new testament, and there see whether Images were vsed and receaued in the Primitiue Church, or no.

6. That I may not stay vpon the tradition, which, as Damascen witnesseth, reported Orthod. that Christ sent his owne Image to Augarus king of Edissa: neither vpon the Image of his face geuen to Veronica, which to this day is kept and honored in Rome, nor vpon that which Athanasius witnesseth to haue bene made by Nicodemus: nor vpon the constant witnesses of many, that S. Luke the Evangelist painted both Christes and our Ladies Image: that I may let passe the Images of S. Peter and Paul, which Silvester the B. of Niccephorus lector, In Concil. Nice. 2. Theodosius lector, Rome

lib. 6. c. 16. Rome shewed to Constantinus the Great,
 Metaphra-
 stes in vita
 S. Lucæ.
 Theessa. 2.

omitting all such traditions which our new
 brethren refuse, because they are not of those
 whom S. Paul biddeth: *keepe the traditions*
which were taught either by his preaching, or
writing (and yet if he had not preached that
Images might be made, there had not bene
so many Images among the Faithfull in the
Primitiue Church, as it hath and shall ap-
peare there were) but all those other exâples
omitted, surely the Historie of the Image,
which the woman that was deliuered of the

Euseb. li. 7.
 ca 14. Trip
 li 6. ca. 41.

Nicephor.
 li 5. ca. 15.

Theoph
 in c. 9. Ma.

issue of bloud , did sette vp in brasse for the
 honour of Christ in *Casarea Philippi*, that
 Image is so notorious , and so much spoken
 of in the Ecclesiastical Histories, and so wit-
 nessed to be true by Eusebius who saw it,
 that M. Iewel can not call it a fable, as he
 doth all other holy traditions.

7. That Image of Christ was also set vp
 in a high place before her doore who was
 healed, and was in such estimation, that men
 came to be healed, by the Herbe, which on-
 lie touched the hem or lowest part thereof.

8. Moreouer Eusebius plainly witnes-
 seth, that vntill his time , certain painted I-
 mages of our Sauiour, and of Peter and Paul,
 were preserued and had bene seene of him.
 In saying they were preserued, he geueth vs
 to understand, that they were madelong be-
 fore,

fore, and yet he liued neere a thousand and three hundred yeares agoe. What saith then M. Jewel to this evident Testimonie?

9. *Jewel.* Eusebius him selfe sheweth, that In his the Pheniceans being Heathens, and bearing and seeing the straung miracles that had ben wrought by Christ and by his Apostles, made these Images in the honour of them, onely of their Heathenish and vaine Superstition. Replie
fol. 503.

10. *Sander.* If this tale might be proued out of Eusebius him selfe, it were very well for M. Jewels purpose. But we shall find M. Jewel as faithful of his woerde, as he is of his beliefe. They were not Heathens, but Christians who made these Images, albeit they had bene Heathens, and afterward became Christians.

11. *Jewel.* Eusebius Woordes be these: Nec mirum est veteres Etrnicos, beneficio affectos a Seruatore nostro, ista fecisse. It is no marueil that the Heathens receiuing such benefites of our Saviour did these things. Falsified,
Worse falsified,

12. *Sander.* Here is one fault committed in translating the Greeke wordes into Latine, an other in englishing his owne Latine wordes. So that whereas the Latine agreeeth not with the Greeke, the English also disagreeth with the Latine. The Greeke wordes are καὶ θεοὺς οὐδέν. Τοὺς τῶάλαι ἐξ ἔθνων διέργεται θεούς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, τῶντα διποιηνέται.

Eccles hi-
stor. lib. 7.
cap. 14.

2. Ruffinus dooth Latine it thus. *Et nim
bil mirum, si qui ex Gentilibus crediderant pro
beneficiis, qua a Salvatore fuerant consecuti, hu
iusmodi velut minus videbantur offerre.* And no
no wonder, if such of the Gentils, as had be
lieued, did seeme to offer as it were such a
presente for the benefites, which they had
receiued of our Sauiour.

13. The whole controuersie resteth in
these wordes, *τοὺς πάλαις ἐθνῶν*. Which
M. Iewel latineth, *Veteres Ethnicos*, and en
glisheth, the Heathens. His Latine is vntrue,
whether it be of his owne making, or bor
rowed of any of his Brethren (whome per
happes he trusted in turning this place of Eu
sebius for him) and his English is farre worse.

14. Ruffinus doth latine those wordes
thus: *Qui ex Gentilibus crediderant*, such of the
Gentils as had beleeuued. Is there not great
oddes betweene Heathens, and such as now
beleuuued, though they had bene once Hea
thens? Doth not all the matter consist herin,
whether Heathens or Christians made these
Images?

15. Ruffinus saith, such of the Heathens
made them, who had beleuuued. M. Iewel
saith, the Heathens made them. And he saith,
that Eusebius himself sheweth it. *τοὺς πάλαις*
ἐθνῶν, is word for worde. *Quicquid olim*
ex Gentibus, they that were in time past of
the

Musculus
doth not
translate
it so.

the Heathens. Whereby it is meant, that al-
though they were begotten of Heathens, yet
when they made these Images, they were no
more Heathens.

16. I tel you, M. Iewel, that Eusebius
him selfe saith, that those did sette vp these
Images, who were in time past of the Hea-
thens. πάλαι, is *olim*, once, or in time past.
But in time past was no good pastime for M.
Iewels purpose, and therefore he lette it passe
in good time as he thought.

17. The latin wordes, *yeteres Ethnicoſ* was
not true, because it told not all the ſenſe. For
it is not all one to ſay, the old Heathens, and
to ſay, thofe who were in the old time of the
Heathens.

18. The old Heathens betoken Heathens
of the old time, who might ſtill haue taried
Heathens: but thofe that once were of the
Heathens, be not ſtil old Heathens, but are
ſignified in their ownelife to haue bene, of
Heathens made Faithfull, as being once of
the Heathens, and now of the Christians,
the which ſenſe Ruffinus hath fully and elo-
quently tranſlated.

19. I marueile, that ſeing ſo many vnu-
truths and falsifyings of oldwriters be dai-
lie laied to Master Iewels charge, many of
them being ſo plaine, and ſo inexcusable, as
they are, that yet the inuentour is called to

Olim, in
left out by
M. Iew.

no accompt. Write we sportingly , or in earnest ? Strive we for the shadow of an Asse , or els for the truth it selfe? And for the truth in meane maters , or els for the truth in matters of Salvation .

Where is
plaine
dealing?

20. Is there not one learned and zealous Protestant in all Englannde , who being lead with the loue of the truth , and with freedome and liberty of conscience , will both loke whether the Fathers doe say as M. Iewel reporteth , and when he findeth him to haue moste impudently falsified their wordes and meaninges , dare to say to him : Sir you shall vnderstand , that our Ghospell standeth not by lying and corrupting of the Fathers , and because you haue maintained it by that meanes , you haue slandered our Gospell , and therfore I will purge it of that slander by confessing your impudencie , and by mainaining the truth some other way . Better it were to denie the Fathers altogeather , then whiles we pretend to haue them for vs , to be taken for most notable lyers , and to be proued so in the end .

21. Concerning the Images Eusebius speaketh of , if the matter were not exceeding plaine , that the only Faithfull Christians had made them , I would say it were not like to be true , that Christ bestowed any great cure vpon thos , who should haue

haue taried still Heathens. For he much more willingly cured the soule, then the bodie.

22. Againe, though sometimes the men healed, *became vnkind and forgetfull of his benefit*, yet those who taried so mindfull ther-of, as to set vp Images for his honour, *were not vnkind*, and therefore it is not to be doubted, but that the Faith of Christ remained still in their hertes.

23. Thirdly, if it could be doubted of any manuels, yet not of this blessed woman, whose faith was so great, that she said in her hart: *If I only touch his garments, I shalbe safe.* Math. 9.2
And Christ gaue witnesse to her faith, saying:
Be of good cheere daughter, thy faith hath made thee safe, goe in peace. Mar. 5.

24. Is this woman yet a Heathen, M. Jewel, who beleueth, and which is bid to goe in peace? For this woman it was, who did set vp the Image of brasie, and by the occasion of her Image, Eusebius came to speake of other Images.

25. But now all those arguments neede not, because the words be plaine. It is no wonder to Eusebius, if that Image of brasie bare the figure of Christ, for those that were in time past of the Gentils, did (faire Eusebius) make such things for the benefits they had receiued. But this is not all M. Jewels falsehood.

Theophil.
in cap. 9.
Math.

L. 7. c. 18.

540 Of Images, and
falshood. Let vs then heare more.

26. Jewel. Nam & Apostolorum Pauli & Petri, & ipsius Christi Imagines coloribus ductas & seruatas vidimus. For we haue scene the Images of Paule and Peter, and of Christ drawne in colours & preserued.

27. Sander. Heere beside, eius, of him or his, left out in Latin & in English (which was of no importance, M. Jewel hath left out two other words, of some importance, in his English. The first is *non*, &, that is to say, also. The second is, *ipius* that is to say, of himselfe, the whole sense is. For we haue scene also, the Image of his Apostles Paule, and Peter, yea & of Christ himselfe, drawne in colours, & preserued.

Also, maketh much for the purpose,

28. The word, also, doth shew a new history to be told, beside that of the woman which was healed of her issue of bloud. For wheras Eusebius fel vpon the history of that Image, which was set vp by the said woman, as it were by the way, least it should be thought that no holy Images else were among the Christians, he addeth, we, also, haue scene the Images of the Apostles, and of Christ himselfe. Not only that of Cesarea in brasse, but others also painted, and that not newlie painted, but preserued in painting. So that whereas Eusebius liued aboue three hundred yeares after Christ, he sawe painted Images of Christ himselfe,

selfe, and of his Apostles preserued: The which came from his Forefathers time to his light.

29. But O the deceit of M. Iewell, who would make vs belieue, that these other Images, of which Eusebius speaketh in the second place, that they also were only among the Gentils. For he saith:

30. *Iewel.* The Phenicians being Heathens made these images in the honour of Christ & of his Apostles, only of their heathenish and vaine superstition.

31. *Sander.* O vaine & heathenish custome of facing & bragging in you, M. Iewel. were it so, that the Heathens, tarying still Heathens, had made the Image of brasē in Phenicia (as they did not make it tarying still Heathens, but the blessed faithfull woman made it) yet it had not beene meant, that they made the other painted Images also.

32. Eusebius went from one storie to another, and from a particular storie, to a more generall. So that if you had answered to the first example of the brasen Image made by the Phenicians, being still (as you suppose) Heathen, yet the second storie of the painted Images otherwise seene by Eusebius, had remained vnanswered. Shall we yet shew a farther falsehood in M. Iewel, & that still in one storie?

26. Iewel Et credibile est , priscoz illorū hominēs nondum relictā auitā superstitione, ad hanc modum consueuisse colere illos ethnica consanguine , tanquam Seruatores . And it may be well thought, that men in old times , being not yet remoued from the superstition of their Fathers, vsed after this sort to worship them by an heathenish custome, as their Saviours.

27. San. Heere is nothing but one vndreuth heaped vpon another. The greeke word ἀπαλλάξις is Latined, nondum relictā auitā superstitione, & Englished (being not yet remoued from the superstition of their fathers) for that we may besurē it is that greeke word which is so Englished, & so turned into Latin, M. Iewel setteth the Greeke words by the side of his booke. And surely none other word is left to signifie any such thing, beside ἀπαλλάξις.

28. That word as it hath none other English vnto it, so it is thus Englished (being not yet remoued from the superstition of their fathers) but it is lewdly & falsely so Englished : For ἀπαλλάξις doth signifie a changing by course or by equality, & consequentlie ἀπαλλάξις is as much to say as without chāge or without difference. Now as thogh nothing in the world might remain vnchanged, beside the old superstition of the Heathens, so doth M. Iewel ad vnto Eusebius , moe words

words then are in him, by all these, from the superstition of their Fathers.

29. Moreouer σωτήρας, is as spitefully Englished *their Sauours*. For although the word (among other things) doth signifie so, yet it is also taken for thole, that preserue vs from any danger and corporall perill. And so was Ioseph in the Egyptians tongue called the *Sauour of the World*, for deliuering Gen. 41. of the Egyptians and the countreyes thereabout from hunger. But Maister Iewel would haue the sense to be, as though they tooke S. Paul and S. Peter for their redeemers. But euery kinde of sauing is not a redeeming: except we shall say, that when the Mother saueth her child from beating, that then she doth redeeme her child. The right sense of the place is thus geuen vs by Ruffinus, who translated Eusebius about eleuen hundred yeres past. *Quod mihi videtur ex Gentili consuetudine indifferenter obseruatum, quod ita solent honorare quos honore dignos duxerint.* The which thing (verely to make Images in the honoeur of their Benefactours) seemeth to me indifferently or vnchangeably kepte from the heathenish custome, because they are wont so to honour thole, whom they think worthy of honour.

*Eccl. hist.
lii, 7. c. 14.*

30. Heere Ruffinus hath translated ἀπαλλάσσως, *indifferenter*, that it is to say, in-

diffe-

differently : meaning , that they made Images after their conuersion , euen as they had done before , without diuersity or difference. Also he translatheth, *εἰς σωτῆρας quo bonore dignos duxerint*, who they thinke worthy of honour. For *εἰς*, doth import, *tanquam*, or *velut*, and it may be Englished (as if) Rufinus turned it by *duxerint*, whome they compted worthy of honour. For all is one to their opinion, to be worthy, or to be cōpted worthy. *σωτῆρας*, he translatheth *bonori dignos*, that is to say, worthy of honour. For euery benefactour, who saueth vs from euill, or helpeth vs to any good thing , as euery kind of Sauiour doth, is in that respect worthy of honour.

The true
sense of
Eusebius.

31. What is then the meaninge of Eusebius ? Surely this : That the Auncient men , who were made Christians from of Heathens, were wont after their old heathenish manner, which in that behalfe they chaunged not, to honour them with Images of whome they accounted themselues to haue receiued benefite. So that *ἀπαράλακτος*, which is to say, *without change*, must not be vnderstoode , without change of beliefe & faith, but without chaunge of their former custome in setting vp Images.

The cu-
stome of
the Hea-
thens.

32. Heere of you may gather , that it was a custome of the Heathens , to make Images

for

for the honour of men accompted honourable. And I confess that custome, and it was a good and laudable custome, if the men were in deede honourable, whose Images were made: or if the people gaue no more honour vnto them, then they were worthy of.

33. Therefore that custome might and did come from the Gentils to the Christians, and not from the Iewes (who through pusillanimicie durst not make euē good and lawfull Images, nor yet though their law ceased, to eate good and lawfull meates) but it came to vs from the Gentils, to make Images in the honor of men worthy in deede of honour. It is also common to vs with them, that we do sacrifice in every place, and not in Ierusalem alone.

34. That which was amisse in them, as to do sacrifice to false Gods, and to make the Images of Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Vulcan, as thinges worthy of honour, that we do not: but so farre as they kept the law of nature vncorrupted, so far, these Heathens being made Christians changed not theire olde custome. For S. Paule confesseth, that the Gentils who had not the law of Moyses, *yet did some things which were of the Law, naturally.* Rom. 15 That is to say, by the helpe and light of God, which through the Law of nature he gaue vnto them. And that this my interpretation

pretation is good, it is evident by diuerso
Argumentes taken out of the said place of
Eusebius.

n aduerb

35. First, the Aduerb in construction must
be ioyned to the Verb, for thereof it hath
his name, being called an Aduerb, as if a man
would say, a thing belonging to the Verb,
or to some Participle deriuued from the Verb:
as here the Greeke Aduerb ἀπαράλλακτος,
belongeth to the Greeke participle ἀλλότος,
as alio Ruffinus hath ioyned the Latin Ad-
uerb, *indifferenter*, to the Latin participle *ob-
seruatum*, and consequently it shoulde in En-
glish likewise haue bene referred after this
sort. The old men of their Heathenish cu-
stome *were wont without change*, to worship
among them selues after this sorte their be-
nefactours.

36. But M. Iewel hath referred the Ad-
uerb, ἀπαράλλακτος, to the nowne which
went before it, and that also, whereas, no
article was ioyned vnto the Aduerb. He hath
made such a Construction, as if it had bene
saied: *The Heathens tarying stil vnchaunged.*

37. It is not readen, οἱ Ἰνδικῶν, the Hea-
thenes, but οἱ αὐλαῖοι, the Auncient men.
Neither it is readen, that the old men taried
vnchaunged in their Religion, but, ἀπαρά-
λλάκτως is without their article before it, or
anie such Participle after it. And the sensc is,

the Auncient men, wherin no Heathenish superstition is meant, but onlie the Antiquite of the Faithfull Christians: the Auncient Christians *without change*, by an Heathenish Custome, to honour among them selues their Bene factours, with setting vp Images, which might beare their name, and make them to be remembred.

38. And that the worde, παγαιων, doth not belong to Auncient Heathens, but to Auncient Christians, the sense of the place doth shew. For whie should he saie, that they vised to doe so without change, if them selues had in no pointe bene chaunged? It were a wise tale to saie, that Heathens taryinge Heathens, doe without change vse, after the Heathenish Custome, to Honour their Benefactours, with settinge vp their Images.

39. I priae you, what newes were that? But for a Christian, who is changed from an Heathen, for him to doe it still after the Heathenish custome, and his Faith beinge chaunged, not to change his old custome, that is a thinge worthie to be told.

40. For there is a difference in such a betweene himself and betweene his owne deed. Himselfe is changed in Faith, but not chan ged in that kind of custome. And so without change he doth that, which seemeth not now to belong to him. It seemeth not (I say)

41. For (as S. Augustine hath well no-
ted) when S. Paule reprooueth the Gentils
for offerring to Idols, *Non quod offereba-
tur culpat, sed quia illis offerebatur*. He bla-
meth them not because Sacrifice was made,
but because it was made to the Deuils. And
againe: *Non ideo contempnenda vel detestanda est
Virginitas sanctimonialum, quia & vestales Vir-
gines fuerunt*. The virginitie of Nonnes is
not therfore to be despised or to be detested,
because the maidens of the false Goddess
Vesta, were also Virgins. And last of all: *Non
similiter cum Gentibus vivimus easdem res non ad
eundem finem referendo, sed ad finem legitimi di-
uinique praecepti*. We liue not in like sorte
with the Gentils, for that we referrre not the
same thinges to the same ende (as they did)
but we referrre them to the end of a lawful &
godly commaundement, which is Charity
grounded vpon a good Faith.

42. To applie this to our purpose, we
make Images as the Heathens did, not abstei-
ning to make them, as the Iewes did abstaine:
but yet we liue not in like sorte with the Hea-
thens. For we make not our Images of the
same persons whereof they made them, nor
to the same ende. They made the Image of
Jupiter; we make the Image of Christ. They
for

Con. Fau.
b. 20.
ap. 18,

bidē c. 21

[bidē c. 23.]

The ende
of euerie
deed ma-
keth the
matter.

for the honour of the Deuil : We for the honour of God. But hereof more shalbe said hereafter.

43. There followeth in Eusebius, immediatlie in the next line and worde after the sentence, whereof now we haue spoken, an other most euident reason, which sheweth that Eusebius meant, ἡν ταλαιπωρη, to be the Auncient Christians, and not the Heathens, who still taried Heathens. γέλε γάρ
Ιακώβος θρόνοι, & cetera. For the brethren thereby succession, that is to say, as Ruffinus doth declare, the Bishoppes who succeeded one after another, esteeme and embrase the chaire of S. Iames the Apostle, which is kept euuen hitherto.

Ec. Hist. li.
7. ca. 15.
apud Ruf.
finum.

For

44. Know you not M. Iewel, that γάρ is to say (for? Know you not that, for, geueth a reason of that which wente before? What went before? You say, it went before, that the old men tarying in their Heathenish superstitution, vsed to set vp Images. Wel: then Eusebius must geue a cause thereof, when he saith: *Iacobi enim Cathedram buc usque conservatam, fratres qui ibi sunt per successionem collunt.* For the brethren which are according to succession, make much of, and honour the chaire of S. Iames kept vntill this daie.

45. Now put together. The olde men keeping their heathenish superstitution, saith M. Iewel, doe honour their Benefactours

with Images, because the brethren at Jerusalem do honour the chaire of S. James. Doth not this geare hang well together?

46. O cursed lying spirit, which posses-
seth M. Jewel. And O dreadfull judgement
of them, that hauing his impietie laied be-
fore their eyes, doe still honour him as a Mi-
nister of the truth.

47. Eusebius maketh no such foolish con-
nection of matters, as to say, the Heathens
doe the one, because the Christians doe the
other. But he saith, the Auncient men (ther-
by meaning the Auncient Christians being
made Faithfull from Heathens, which they
were once) did vse after the Heathenish fas-
hion without chaunge (in that behalfe) to
honour their Benefactours with setting vp
theire Images. How proue you that? For
saith he, the Bretheren there, to wit-
te, the Christian Bishoppes at Jerusalem,
keepe to this daie and honour Saint James
Chair.

48. For this Participle *τιμήσαντες*, doth
manifestly declare, that they honoured or
gave a reuerence to the Chaier, because *τιμάων*,
is to worshippe, to embrace, and to
esteeme highly. Whereby it may appeare,
that it hath beene an olde custome with the
olde Christians, to reuerence honourable
Personages, by hauing, keeping, and Reue-
rencing

tencing the Reliques, Monuments and Images of them.

49. But hath Eusebius yet done with this honour geuen to honourable personages by their Images? No surely. For it followeth: *λοφῶς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἵπποις θεοῖς, & ceteris* (the bretheren at Ierusalem esteeminge so much S. Iames chaier) Evidently shew to all men, in what maner, both those that were in the old time, and those that be euē till our daies, bāue maintained, and yet doe maintaine a worthy reverence and worship of holy men, for their Godlines sake. This is the whole place of Eusebius. Whereby it is manifest, that he alloweth and stoutly defendeth the honour which is geuen to Saints by their Images and Reliques. And he fetcheth the vse thereof from the old time, and continueth the same till his owne time.

50. *Iewel.* By these wordes of Eusebius it is plain, that the vse of Images came not from Christ, or from the Apostles, as M. Harding saith.

51. *Sander.* Damascene told you otherwise, as I haue shewed before. Yea Eusebius also told you otherwise. For he deduced the making of Images, and the honouring of Reliques by the Faithfull, vnto Christes owne Ruffine, time, saying that the chair of S. Iames, was honoured by them that succeeded one after another vntill his daies.

52. *Jewel.* But the making of Images came from the superstitious custome of the Heathens.

53. *Sander.* The first act or exercise of making of Images among Christians, came (as farre as we know) from such as had bene Heathens, in this respect, because they who first made Images, were rather such Christians as had bene once Heathens, then such as had bene once Iewes. For the Iewes (by like) were more scrupulouse in that behalfe. But the custome of making such Images, as those Heathens beinge now Christians did make in the honour of Christ, concerning the authoritie of making Images, came from the law of Nations, and therfore it was no superstitious custome. Neither doth Eusebius call it so in his Greeke history, albeit M. Jewel maketh him speak so in Latine and in English.

54. *Jewel.* Neither doth it appeere that those Images were sette vp in any Church.

55. *Sander.* D. Harding as yet sheweth onlie the antiquitie of Images, and commeth afterward to speake of them, as they were sette vp in Churches.

56. *Jewel.* As for the Image of Christ, it is plaine it stooode in the streate abrode, and an herbe of strange operation grew vnderneath it.

57. *Sander.* Eusebius nameth more then one Image of Christ. For he saw also pain-

ted

ted Images of the Apostles, and of Christ himselfe. And where was it so like he should see them (specially in the time of Constantinus the Greate) as in the Churche ? But where you say , it is plaine that Christes Image stooode in the streat abrode : it stooode there in deede, but it stooode honorably , as being sette vp for Christs honour. And when Iulianus the Renegate had throwen it downe (as you , M. Iewel , and your companions doe throw downe Christes Image , where- soever you may find it) after that time , the pieces of his Image were caried into the Church also , as we reade in the Tripartite Historie .

58. *Statuam verò Christi tunc quidem Pagani Tripart. lii
trahentes confregerunt . Postea verò Christiani 6. cap. 44.
colligentes in Ecclesiam recon siderunt , ubi hacte-
nus reseruatur .* The Paynims at that time drew a long , and brake Christes Image . But afterward the Christians gathering it vp , did lay it vp in the Church , where it is kept to this day .

59. O if it were M. Iewels chaunce to come into the same Church , where that Image of Christ were kept , what wold he doe to it ? Whether would he breake it againe into smaller peeces , then euer the Paynims did ? Or els would he make much of it , and keepe it for a Relique , as the Christians of those coun-

countryes did twelue hundred yeares past, whome would you more gladly follow, M. Jewel? Speake if you dare. Would you be like the Christians? Then some Images are so highly to be esteemed, that euen when they are broken, their peeces are proued worthy of the reseruing in a Christian Churche. Or would you be like *the Renegate Julianus*, & the Paynims? Goe to your kind then, M. Jewel, & trouble no more our realme, which would gladly be accompted a Christian realme.

60. But to retурne to our purpose, if that Image of Christ being broken, was worthy to be kept in a Christian Church, how much more was it worthy to stand there being yet whole? But when it was set vp in the streat, the Christians had no Church at all.

The ho-
nouring
of Christ's
Image.

61. Now if this be not the giuing of honour to Christes Image, euen after that it is no more an Image, yet to gather vp the broken peeces thereof, and to put them in a holy place, I cannot tell what we shall accompt the honouring of Images to be.

62. Was this an Idol, M. Jewel, whose peeces the Christians so reverentlie reserued about twelue hūdred yeres past? Brieflie Images haue been vsed amonge the Christians ever since Christis time. And M. Jewel to mak the contrarie appear, hath falsified many waies

writes the publicke Histories of the Church.

63. First, he maketh vs belieue, that Eusebius onlie speaketh of such holie Images, as the Phenicians made, whereas he speaketh of diuerse other which himselfe saw painted.

64. Secondlie, he affirmeth that the Images were made by Heathens, only of their Heathenish and vaine superstition : whereas the Images were made by Christians, who had been Heathens, but were become faithfull.

65. Thirdly, he corrupteth Eusebius, by leauing out in his English, the Greeke word *μάλα*, *olim, once, or in time past,* vpon which word, the whole controuersie dependeth.

66. Fourthlie, he addeth to Eusebius all these words of his owne (*the superstition of their Fathers*) to make his owne forged sense probable.

67. Fifthly, Eusebius proueth by the religious keeping of S. Iames chaire, that it is no wonder, if the Auncient Christians did make Images for the honor of them of whom they had receaued benefits, which thing M. Jewel wresteth to another lense.

68. Last of all, it is euident by Eusebius, that the Christians did reuerence and honour the very chaire of S. Iames, for so he speaketh, *τούς λακώνες ιρόνοι, colentes cathedram Iacobi, worshipping or higly esteeming the*

the chaire of Sainct Iames : not worshiping it as God (as by and by this wrangler would make men belieue we meane) but worshipping it with such conuenient reverence, as is due to holy Reliques and Images, or to the remembrances of good and godly men,

That by the law of nature, honour is due to the Images and Monuments of honourable Personages. And by what meanes that may be knowne.

THE XI. CHAPTER.

a Gen. 4.
b Gen. 3.

b Gen. 17.

c Gen. 23.

& 50.

Deut. 34.

d Exod.

31. & 34.

e Iere. 31.

Heb. 8.

The law
of nature
is never
changed.

Veras God hath ruled his people in diuerse manners & sorts, sometimes by inspiring his will secretly to the Patriarches and Prophets (as concerning sacrifice to be made of cleaner beastes, *a* and of the best) at other times by expresse commaundement geuen by outward voice (as *b* concerning Circumcision) and also by custome and tradition of his people from hand to hand (as *c* in bewailing the dead) againe afterward, by geuing them a *d* written letter of the law, and last of all, by *e* writing his owne law of grace and spirit in their harts: in all these varieties, the Law of Nature hath stood alwaies immutable, and

and hath cōtinued one & the same euermore, in Paradise, before the Flood , in the time of Circumcision, in the time of Moyses law, &c of the Gospell.

2. For albeit the vse thereof in time past, hath been for a time, in some one place stop-
ped by some secret dispensation (as in per-
mitting many wiues to one man) or els cor-
rupted by euill custome : yet the vniuersall
right thereof hath not been vtterly changed,
nor at all taken away. It was euer the law of
Nature to acknowledge a God, & to honour
him, for one man to haue but one wife at
once, to loue and reward him who doth a
good turne, to honour vertue, and to punish
vice.

Gen. 4. 8.
Exod. 20. 14.
Gen. 2. 29.

Matth. 19. 5.
Luc. 6.

3. Wherfore it is a matter worthy the
knowing , whether as Images may be made
by the law of nature (for that I take to be
now proued, because the arts of painting &
of grauing are laudable and in vse among all
nations) so likewise they may be honoured
and esteemed by the same law, or no. Yf we
find that naturally the Images of honoura-
ble Persons may be worshipped, they must
needes be vnnaturall men , who haue pulled
them downe , and thereby haue dishonou-
red them.

How the
law of na-
ture may
be known
vpon .

4. To find out what the law of Nature is
in any case , two speciall grounds doe helpe

vs. The one is , the iudgement of right and sound reason : the other is, the vniuerall vse and like practise of all Nations. Concerning the rule of right and sound reason, it seemeth to me, that God who made man of such condition & state as must come to all his knowledge by similitudes and images, hath geuen him also this naturall instinct, that when the inward Image represented to him , is apprehended as good and laudable, then he loueth it : when it is apprehended as impious and vnhonest, that then he detesteth and abhorreth it.

Of internal Images.

4. Let vs omitte for a time artificiall Images , and speake only of those which are formed in euery mans owne soule or minde. One telleth me , *that Christ dyed , only to save man from everlasting paines.* Doth not this laying cause me (who heare attentively and belieue those words) straight to conceave Christ dying for my sake ? And am I not straight moued to loue him , who hath done this great good turne euen for his enemy ?

Rom. 5. Rom. 5. 5. Well: this loue so prouoked in me , to whom doth it chiefly belong? To Christ, or to him that told me the storie , or to the Image which I conceaved in my mind by hearing the storie ? There can be no doubt , but, (if I heare it as I ought) both my vnderstanding , and my will is so immediatly cari-

ed to Christ, that in comparison thereof, I
forgette both him that speake, & the inward
image which was printed in me, and thinke
only vpon Christ himselfe.

6. Wherby we learne, that an Image is Note how
not a thing made for it selfe, but for an other, the thing
end, which end is not only more principall is the che-
then the Image, but also it is naturally more fest of all,
acceptable vnto him, who taketh ioyfull in-
formation thereof. In so much that, when a
man heareth tydings which he moſte deſi-
red to heare, although he learned it by the
meane and ſervice of his owne inward ima-
gination, yet he ſo much thinketh of the
thing, that he forgetteth all other matters in
the world.

7. But when the mind is loofed from that
great and ſodaine affection which it bare to
the thing it ſelfe, and will againe ſolace it
ſelfe with repeating and calling to remem-
brance the ſame thing, then the Image The ima-
thereof (whereunto the mind returneth) geplea-
being vewed at leiuſe, doth please more ſecō-
and more: and according as it is good,
vertuous, or delectable, ſo doth the man
loue, honour, or imbrace the ſame. And whi-
le the mind reađeth backewarde (as it were
in its inward booke) the whole order of the
historie, it cometh to his remembrance at the
length who told that matter to him, that co-
sequently

sequently he loueth, honoreth, or imbraceth him also. Of this naturall instinct it cometh, that all Princes & great men geue rewards to those, who bring them good tidings.

The reward for
a good
message.

9. Thus, whereas three thinges do concurre, the thing which is told, the inward image wheteby I learned it, and the reporter : the chiefē & first honour naturally belongeth to the thing it selfe, the second to the inward image, which was the next mean of apprehending the tidings, the third to the reporter.

The first
cause of
honoring
artificiall
images.

10. Now seing the outward Image made artificially, beareth the office of a reporter (so oft as I see an image, the signification whereof is knowne to me) it cannot be denied, but the said Image necessarily and naturally deserueth so much honour of me, as he that should haue told me that selfe thing, if no Image had been there to haue done it.

Basil. Ho-
mil. in 4.
Martyr.

11. What skilleth it, whether I learne by hearing, or by seing? wherupon S. Basil saith: *Res in bello fortitiae gestas tum eloquentes homines sape numago, tum pictores exprimunt: illis sermone ornantes, hibernulis deliniantes, & viribus multos ad fortitudinem excitarunt.* Oftentimes both the eloquent men, and also the painters do expresse (& sette forth) the valiant acts done in war: they adorning the matter with words, & these drawing the same forth in tables,

tables, & so both of them haue stirred vp
many to do valiant actes.

12. If then aswell the Painter as the Ora-
tour do prouoke many to fortitude, & yet the
Painter doth it, by leauing an Image behind
him which may worke that feate: it is clea-
re, that a good Image deserueth that place
of honour (be it little or great) which is due
to him, who telleth vs good newes.

13. Moreouer the Image is by so much in
the better case to be honored (then that Ora-
tor) by how much it hath more affinity with
my inward Image, then the Oratours words
had. For it scrueith to me both in the whole
steede of the Oratour, & also in part of the
steede of fourming the inward Image, be-
cause it geueth me the very expresse fourme
& figure already made, which my vnderstan-
ding must conceaue: whereas if I learned the
matter by words, I must haue taken the paine
to haue changed the shape of the words into
an other fourme, & thereof to haue fourmed
a visible image.

The se-
cond cause
of honou-
ring arti-
ficiall i-
mages.

14. For the eye being the highest & most
spirituall outward sense, is most ready to in-
struct the mind after that sort, as it apprehen-
deth every thing.

15. By which meanes we are come to the
case, that the painted Image is an easier and a
more lively way to instruct vs, then any Ora-

each vs
asly and
lucly.
tour: and thereby it deserueth also more ho-
nour, then any Oratour, in so much that,
we say of him who can tell his tale most li-
uely, that he seemed to paint it forth, and to
doe it, rather then to speake and report it.

Exod. 20. 16. Therefore when God gaue the ten
Commaundements to the Children of Is-
rael, his words were not only heard, but euen
visibly seene, as the holy Scripture doth
witnessse. *Cunctus autem populus videbat voces,*
the whole people, saw the words. Upon which
place Philo (that learned and ancient Iew)
writeth in this wise. Flamma in propriam lo-
quelam auditoribus assuetam articulatim distincta
erat, qua quidem ea qua dicebantur, adeo clara
& perspicue efferebatur, ut populus illam oculis cer-
nire, potius quam auribus accipere videretur.

17. A flame of fire was particularly distin-
guished into a proper forme of speache, such as
the hearers were accustomed vnto, which
flame did vtter those things which were said,
so cleerly and evidently, that the people did
seem rather to see the speach with their eyes,
then to here it with their eares.

18. Seing this miraculouse kind of speach
was chosen of God, as the more worthie,
and more lively way, to speake rather to the
peoples eyes, then to their eares, and to speak
by deedes as well as by wordes / for the ma-
king of the flame to appere in such sort, was
a fact

God pre-
ferred I-
mages be-
fore onlie
sounds of
words.

a fact and a deede, yea also it was an outward Image) painting and graving which haue the same effect, and conteine a deede or worke in themselues which is vttered to our eyes, are by the same reason, a more worthy and honorable kind of reporting then that which is done by bare words.

19. Thus haue we two considerations, for the which Images naturally deserue some kind of honour. But the third passeth the other twaine. For whereas in the degrees which I made before, the ioyfull thing it selfe which is tolde, had worthely the first place of honour, the artificiall Image is so nighly ioyned to the thing it selfe also, that therfore it deserueth most honor of all. If any Oration describe Christes death, or Gods loue and mercy vnto me, he deserueth honour of me. First generally, as the reporter of a good thing: secondly, as the occasion of a good inward Image, the which is particularly formed in me according to his wordes: Thirdly, as one that hath some affinitie with Christ, of whom he speaketh.

20. And therein I consider, how nigh he approcheth to Christ. If he be an Ethnick (as Sybilla) or a Jew (as Iosephus) I honour him as ioyned to Christ in a certaine natural loue of the truth, and in moral honesty, but not due to the as one knownen to be made a member of his messenger

The this
cause of
nouring
artificial
Images,

The de-
grees of
honour

respect ~~he is
ned to
d or to
rist.~~ Mystical body by Baptisme. If he be baptis-
ed, I honour him much more: and yet more,
if he be a Deacon, or Priest, or Bishop; and
so be made the publicke Minister of Gods
word.

21. But if it be a Prophet, there is in him
a higher grace of dignitie, worthy of a speciall estimation for the extraordinary gift,
which God hath indewed him withall. But
we must sette the Apostles aboue all those
other degrees, whome Christ hath taken so
nigh to him, as to make them sit vpon twelue
seates with him in iudgement.

22. But if the Oratour be Gods owne na-
turrall Sonne (as Christ is) what honour is he
worthy of, in such respect as he telleth vs
good tydings from his Father, whom only
with his Sonne and with the holy Ghost, we
loue and honour for true God?

23. This being so, that the Oratour is more
and more honoured, according as he cometh
neare to Christ, or to God, whose mes-
senger he is: forasmuch as when the Image of
Christ is the Oratour, it is so nigh to him,
that it is his owne likenes, and similitude,
doutlesse it ought to haue a singular preroga-
tive of honour in that respect also.

24. For if a Prophet or an Apostle talke
to me of Christ, although in grace he be verie
nigh ioyned to him, and also in Ministry
and

latt. 19.

ebr. 1.

Note.

and authoritie : yet he is a distinct Person from Christ. As for example, he is S. Peter, or S. Paul. And the honour geuen to him, doth stay in him, because he is a reasonable creature, which is able to deserue, to partake, and to reteine honour. And from him it goeth to Christ (whose Messenger he is) but yet, as from one distinct person, to another, the which passage is not without some stayinge by the way. But when the Image of Christ speaketh to vs (as it doth alwaies to them, that haue spirituall eares of vnderstanding, it (as an image) hath no *person or substance of its owne*, which may be separated from Christ : but only it beareth the shape and likenes of Christ, according to his humane nature. Lette the Image of Christ be grauen in wood, if it be asked of me, what subsisting, what hypostasis, what proprietie among thinges, or what seuerall being this thing hath, I answere: As it is wood, it hath such a seuerall being and kinde of proprietie, as belongeth to wood, but as the Image of Christ, it hath no peculiar being or person at all, but hath onlie the shape and forme of Christes Manhood carued or grauen out in the wood. In that it hath no person proper to it selfe (as being an Image) it hath no power, nor meane, not only not to deserue honour to it selfe, but neither to receaue ho-

Honour
is due to
the Pers^on,

honour for it selfe, nor to keepe and reteine honour in it selfe.

Damas li. t. cap 6. 25. As the wordes which men speake, being for the time spread and multiplied in the aier, haue no severall substance of theire owne (for only the word of God hath a person of its owne) and as our wordes lacking a peculiar person, can receave no peculiar honour to themselues, but all that is done to them, must needs passe ouer, either to the speaker, or to the thing spoken of: so fareth it with Images . To which what soever honour we geue (as to images, I meane, and not as vnto materiall substances) it must needs passe away to that thing , which they represent.

26. For which cause, the honour necessarily passeth from them without any stay, and it is geuen (by the minde of him that seeth the Image) to the principall truth, before the image haue any honour at all. And part of the same honour cometh to the Image, as to a most wise and speedy instrument , which for his speedy Ministerie , and nighnes to the truth, is to be honored with, in, and for the truthes sake : but so far behind the truth (when it is considered a part from it) as a like-
ness, or instrument (beit neuer so nighly ioyned) is behind the thing it selfe. A man will say vnto me: Is then the Image of Christe
more

the ob-
lation.

more worthy of honour, then S. Peter or S. Paule?

27. These blessed Apostles are worthy of The an-
honour in their owne persons, almost incom-
parably aboue any artificial Image, because
they shall liue in honour with Christ fore-
ver. Whereas an Image in its person can
be worthy of no honour at all, because (as
it is an Image) it hath no person of its owne.
But when we speake of the honour which is
due to the Image, not as a thing consisting
of it selfe, but as reporting, and only report-
ing, and necessarily reporting the shape of
Christ vnto vs, and as a thing so nighly ioyned
to Christ, that beside him it hath no true
being at all, and in him the veritie thereof
hath a most true being and subsisting: in such
respect, the honour due to the Image is grea-
ter, then that which is due to any other man
(reporting the same tydinges) for the only
reports sake. For now we must respect the
reporter (whether it be a man, a writing, or
an Image) according to that nighnes, which
it hath with the thing reported, and not any
otherwise.

28. The man, as one that reporteth freely
and voluntarily, deserueth an other kind of
reward, which the letters or image can not
deserue, for lacke of reason, and of free will.
But as the written letter or Image reporteth

necessarily, and according to the imitation of nature: so the honour due to them is necessary, and a naturall kinde of honour, with perpetuall respect of that, whose Image it beareth. Fewer wordes would serue, if all men were so quickly instructed, as some be.

A brief re-
petition
of that
which
went be-
fore.

29. But for as much as I write to instruct, let it be no griefe to the Reader, if I say once againe, that the Image of an honourable truth represented, and as it were, lively reported, is by good and right reason, worthy of some honour, not as deserving honour by grace and free will, but as hauing it belonging to its condition and proprietie, and that for three causes.

30. First, for that it maketh vs to know or to remember a good thing. Secondly, because it informeth our vnderstandinge most lively and speedily. Thirdly, because it is a thing more nighly ioyned to the originall veritie (in that it beareth the naturall shape thereof) then any other thing is (such I meane as yet is no naturall part or relique of the veritie it selfe) exceptinge only a naturall Image, which representeth the very substance of his originall. If common sense and sound iudgement shew this matter to be true, if when I may honour the truth represented to me, I may, and must necessarily honour the inward Image wherein it is represen-

presented (because I can not at that instant diuide the one from the other) and if thence I may come to honour the occasion of the said Image, and of that my good remembrance (least I acknowledge not those meanes whereby God hath informed me) if an artificial Image cōmunicate most intirely with all three causes, which are all worthy of honour: if it be the shape of the thing it selfe, the paterne of my inward Image, and the occasion thereof, lette either mans nature be made a new, and God the author thereof be reproued (which is abominable to thinck of) or lette nature haue its course, in honouring the inward and outward image, of a truth worthy to be honoured. This much for the finding out of honour naturally due to Images, according to the way of right & soud reason.

31. The second, way to come ynto the knowledge of the Law of nature, is, by marking wherein all, or most parte of nations, haue at all times agreed. For albeit the Persians in despite of nature, wold company with their Mothers or sisters, yet other Nations generally abhorring from that abuse, do shew that the Persians by free will and for lack of good Magistrates, did violently break the Law of Nature, the which in other places was reverently obserued. Such things as all men keepe and obserue, are of two conditions.

Euseb. de
præparat.
Euangel.
li. 1. c. 8.

P̄ponius
& Floren-
tinus de
Iustitia &
Iure in
Pandectis.
Luc. 6.

170 Of Images, and
ditions. Some, are by only naturall instinc-
common to all: as, to defend our selues, to
honor our parents, to loue our children, and
briefly, to knowe, that we ought to do that
yn to others, which we would haue others do to
vs. Other things are not so naturally borne
with vs, but they are afterward so graffed in
vs, that they become, as it were, naturall,
that is to say, to absteine from maryng with
certaine degrees of our nigher kinred or al-
liance, to make them prisoners whom we
take in iust battell, to sette a Prince or gouer-
nement ouer vs, and to bind our selues to
liue within a prescript order and Law. Whe-
ther the honoring of Images be of the first
or second order of the law of nature, al-
though it skilleth not much (sithens both are
good, and both to be obserued) yet the ground
of honouring internall Images, is in the first
order of the law of Nature, because we are
naturally borne to learne by internall images,
and must needs naturally honour the holy
thing which we learne, together with the
Image therof, as wherin only the mind seeth,
and consequently straight honoureth that
thing. When Christ crucified, is shewed to
my vnderstanding in the parte imaginatiue
of my soule, if I detest that Image and say, I
Will not honour thee, thou art an Idol, or thou
art only a natural Image, and not worthy of ho-
nour,

son, I am worse then a brute beast. For a beast apprehending the Image of a thing good for it, followeth it naturally, and imbraceth it with all his force.

32. But if when Christ Crucified is represented to me, I doe geue honour to the inward Image, and must do so by force of nature (if as the least Christ crucified do please me) doutlesse the necessitie of honouringe good and honorable internall Images (for of them now I speake) is grounded in vs, and borne with vs, according to the first and highest order of nature.

33. But yet the vse of making externall and artificiall Images, rather came in (according to the imitation of nature) long afterward (as all other handy crafts) then was borne together with vs. And for that cause, aswell the Law of Moyses in the old time, as now the Law of the Church, might, for iust causes, moderate, or in some part inhibite the making of artificiall Images. For that which was begunne by mans owne iuention, may be restrained by the law of wise Gouernours.

34. But either to teache, that Images may not be made at all, or when they are lawfully made, and doe represent an honorable person, to teache that they may not be conveniently worshipped, it is against the Law
of

of Nations (concerning the making of Images) and (concerning the worshipping) it is against the Law of Nature, which teacheth some honour to be naturally due to all holy signes, and much more to Images, which are most lively and speedy representations of the truth, and very nighly ioyned to the truth it selfe.

The art of
making
Images
is good.

Note.

35. In so much that I would think it a Law farre more tolerable, to say, *Lette no Image of Christ, or of the Saines be made*, then to say, *Though they be made, let them not be worshipped*. Wholy to forbid the making of Christes Image, it is an vnreasonable law. For if the art of making Images be the imitation of nature, and therfore be good and laudable, what reason can beare, that Christes name and remembrance may not be sette forth by imagerie, as well as other mens names? Or why not by imagerie, as well as by writing? forasmuch as writing also, is but an art inuentioned by men.

36. But yet he that shall forbid Christes Image to be made in some one place, for a certain godly purpose or after some one manner, it might be well done. Howbeit if any man were so bent, that he wold wholly forbid the making of Christes Images in all cases & conditions, that law (which semeth to me vnreasonable) should only breake the law of Nations,

tions, which is brought in by the good vse
and laudable practise of many countreis. But
he that should say, *Though you make Christes
image, I charge you honour it not,* should make
a law much worse, then the former was.

A filthy
decree.

37. For though it be not the Law of Na-
ture precisely, to make an image, yet when
the image is made, if it do signify a truth
worthy of reuerence, it is vtterly against Na-
ture, to forbid the honour of it. For as it is
lesse euill, to say, *Lette vs haue no King at all,*
then to say, *Lette vs not honour the King, though
we haue one:* so it is lesse euill wholy to for-
bid the making of holy Images (though it be
euill) then to forbid the honouring of them,
when they are made. The one taketh away
the vse of Nations, which in part may be
well embarred: the other denieth the Law
of Nature, the which possibly can not be
changed.

38. To leaue this argument, and to returne
to the laudable custome of all Countreyes,
what Nation hath euer yet beene heard of,
so barbarouse, or so rude, the which hath
not shewed a singular affection of honour
to all Monuments of those men, whome
they haue taken for vertuous & godly? which
thing is evidently confirmed, by the great re-
uerence which hath euermore ben don to the
images of Kinges & of Emperours: and like-

the fourth
cause of
honoring
Images.

wife

Cod. de wise by the reuerence that all posterity hath
 stat. & I- euer geuen, to the bodies, Reliques, Tumbs,
 mag & Ashes, Images, and to the verie names and
 Tit. sequēt Titles of their vertuouse Predecessours.

a. 5. de fi- 39. Of which kind of honour among hea-
 nib. 2. de legibus thens Cicero, b Pliny, and c Theodoretus doe
 b. Plin. li. speake. And among those who beleue one
 39. God the like was done, as both 1 S. Hierom
 c Theodode 2 S. Augustin. 3 S. Basil 4 S. Cyprian, and
 cura grac. diuerse other Fathers doe witnesse. Yea it is
 affect. li. 8 affirmed of the wise man, that the memorial of
 1. Aduersus Moyses (and the like is of all iust men) is ble-
 Vigiliantium. sed. The Greeke word γό μνηστικόν, doth
 2. Cōt. Fau stum. li. 19 signify any Monument, which bringeth vs
 3. Hom in to the memory of the man. So that, be it
 40. Mart. whatloever thing which maketh vs remem-
 4. Lib. 4. ber Christ, or his Apostles, and Saints, it is
 epist. 5. Eccles. 24. in that respect pronounced among the ble-
 ssed things of God. And do not the Images
 of the Saints, bring vs to the remembrance of
 them?

The an-
 swering
 of an ob-
 jection.

40. Neither doth it much skil, that those
 who lacked faith, went many, yea most times
 to farre in this kind of honour (because they
 turned mortal men into Gods) for therin we
 follow them not. But that thing wherein all
 Nations agreed, neuer lacked some truth in
 it, as being either it selfe the Law of Nature,
 or most agreeable to Nature.

41. All Nations worshipped those whom
 they

they tooke for Gods, they did sacrifice to them, they honoured and maintained the Priests and Ministers of their Gods. They honoured the Images and Monuments of noble and vertuouse personages, they buried honorably those that had died for their Countrie, and much more those who had died for Religion.

42. All these deedes haue some truth in the Law of nature, although there were some falsehood mingled by the Heathens in the practise thereof. But how shall we know the truth from the falsehood? Verily by the consent of their lawes and deedes ioyned together.

43. That thing, wherein the Law and practise of euerie Nation agreeth together, is thereby knownen to haue proceeded from the inclination of nature, and therefore to be good in that behalfe. All Nations worshipped one God or other, but not all the same God, nor all many Gods: for the Iewes professed the worship of one God alone, so did the Sybils, so did the Platonists, and so did many Philosophers and Poets, as many ancient Fathers haue witnessed. Therefore it is not onlie the Law of God (which the Iewes alone had) but also it is the Law of Nature (which all Nations had, though many of them corrupted it) to haue one God wor-

Justinus
Martyr de-
monarch.
Clemens
Alex. in
pedagog.
Athanas.
de Idolis.
Augusti-
nus deci-
shipped,

uitate
Dei.

176

Of Images, and

shiped, for therin only they agreed. For he that worshiped many Gods; worshiped one also.

44. Likewise al they made sacrifice, one Countrie one way to one God, & an other Countrie, an other way to an other God. But wherein they disagreed, let vs leauie them: that is to say, let not vs make diuerse Sacrifices to diuerse Gods: but wherein they agreed, let vs know that to be the Lawe of nature: verily that some externall sacrifice be made to one God.

De prepar.
Iuan li. i.
ca. 7. li. 8.

45. They all had a certaine Religion, but not all the same Religion. For Eusebius sheweth, that the Phenicians had one, the Egyptians an other, the Grecians the third; the Phrygians the fourth, the Mores, the fifth, and so foorth. So many Religions let vs not haue, but as all they had one, so let vs all haue one, and let it be that which is most Catholike and most vniversall. For God neuer suffered the whole world vniversally to erre, least the errour should be invincible, and not able to be perceaued.

Note.

All nations honoured their Images, who were worthy of honour. Many Nations, yea all honoured the Images of noble and vertuous Personages, by carrying them forth in great pompe, by setting them in high places, and strewing flowers vpon them, and by decking them with garlands, and by pointing to them whiles any oration was made, either praising, or wondering at those mens vertue, whose Images

Images they were.

47. So did the Athenians sette vp a golden Image of Socrates in the Temple, as Tertullian witnesseth. And likewise of them that killed Pisistratus, as Theodoretus wri-
teth. So did the Romans sette vp the Images of Cocles, of Horatius, of Sulpitius and of Constantinus, who was made with the Image of the Crosse in his right hand, and of diuerse others, who had bene either valiant Capitaines, or wise and politické Se-
natours. Yea euery mans house was filled with the Images and Monumentes of his Auncestours. And the Christian Empe-
rours; Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius and Valentinian, doe them selues allow the honour done to them by erecting their Images, although they well forbid adoration to be made vnto them, lest the faichfull should seeme to committinate therin with the Heathen.

48. The Iewes alfo had the Images of two Cherubins, not only grauen in the Pro-
pitiatory, but also both grauen in the wals of the Temple, and wouen and stitched in the veile, as it is witnessed in the Bookes of the Kings, and of the Paralipomenon. And they worshiped those Images & the whole Temple for his sake whose Temple it was, & for the ho-
norabile representatiōs & reliques which were

In Apolo-
geticō.
li 8 de cu-
rat. græca.
affect.

Euseb. li 9
apud Ruf-
finum c 9.
Plinius li.
39.
Cod. de
stat. & I-
mag.

Exo. 25.

3. Reg. 6.
2. Paral. 5.

in it , to wit, for the Images of the Cherubins, for Manna, for the Rod of Aaron, and for the Altars of gold which were in the Temple. Whereupon S. Hierom saith, *venerabantur Iudei Sancta Sanctorum, quia ibi erant Cherubim &c.* The Iewes worshipped the most holie places, because the Cherubins were there.

49. If then all Nations did geue honour to the Images of noble and vertuouse personages (albeit some were accompted noble and vertuouse among them, who in deede were not so) yet herein they agreed , that the Image of him that in deede was vertuouse , might and by the law of Nations ought to be honoured.

50. Neither did the Christians, when true Religion was published , pull downe such Images, as were only sette vp for a testimoニー of morall vertue, and wisdome (and were not at all honoured for Gods) but they suffered them still to remaine : not verily in the inward parte of their Churches (lest they should be taken for to haue bene faithfull men, whereas they were infidels) but yet in the Market place, or in the streates.

51. In so much that among diuerse other Images, which yet stand in Rome, the Image of *Marcus Aurelius the Philosopher* standeth to this day in brasie, vpon a horse of brasie in the Capitol , and the Image of *Constantinus the*

Ad Marcellam,

Note.

the Great, standeth vpon the steps of the Church called *Ara cæli*.

52. This reason (of naturall honour) persuaded the woman, who was deliuered by Christ from the bloodie issue, to erect an Image vnto him in *Panæade* of Phenicia, which is adioyning to the Lande of Iewrie. The which Image neither any Christian (though all the Apostles continued a good time therabout, and must needes heare of it, and might haue commaunded the woman that made it, to hatre pulled it downe, because she was Faithfull, as the Gospell doth witness) nor any Painim did pull downe, vntill he came who from a Christian became a Painim: euidently foretelling vs, that he must be an Heretike in part of the faith, or a Renegate from the whole faith, who pulleth downe the Image of Christ, or of any other man worthy of remembrance.

Euseb. lib.
7. ca. 18

Note.

Math. 9:

53. Thus I haue shewed, that externall Images (being once made) haue honour due to them, as well according to the Law of nature, as also accordaninge to the practise of Nations. Which practise in that behalfe as it is vniforme, as well by theire Lawes as by their deedes, is an euident argument, that there is a naturall truth therin, albeit by some circumstance, wherin all Nations agreed not, some abuse might be min-

The fifth
cause of
honoring
Images.

Note.

54. Furthermore, seeing all the world made Images for the honour of them, who had bene men of vertue, what honour would come to them thereby, if the Image had not a necessarie relation to those men, whose Image it is? If the relation be necessarie, seeing the Image is made for the mans honour, *the relation of honour is also necessarie betwene the Image, and him whose Image it is.* How could els honour come to a man by that thing, which it selfe were not able to be honored? When we will honour a man by making an Oration in his praise, is not he the more honoured, by how much the Oratour is more noble, and his Oration the more eloquent?

Note.

55. If you make the Image of S. Paul with a wrie mouth, and with great goggling eyes, and laie the same vpon a donghil, writing vpon it, *this is the Image of S. Paul,* surelie no wise man will thinke anie honour to be done to S. Paul thereby, but rather great dishonour: and yet he is remembred. But he is not honorably remembred.

56. If then to haue the principal partie honoured by his Image, the Image must be honorably handled (as for example, it must be honestly made, and be sette vp in an open and decent place): It is the Law of nature and of right reason, that, if the Image of an

Hono-

Honorable Personage may be made (as doutelesse it may) then it may be also honoured, that is to say, honourably regarded, and esteemed. The which estimatiō ought to be more or lesse, according to the true vertue of the man. If it be the Image of Cato, I maie well thincke his worldly wisedome worthie of an Image. But I will not thincke him a Saint, and consequently I will not thincke his Image to be a holie Image, or the Image of a Saint.

There are
differences
of honor.

57. Neither yet would I pull it doun, except I perceaued it to be abused, and to be taken for a Saints Image.

58. But if I knowe it to be the Image of Christe, or of his Mother, I will vse it accordingly.

59. For seeing true honour commeth from the minde: as my faith is, so shall my honor be, to all holy Images I may either bow my body, or put of my cap, or kneele before them, and praie to God, or desire the Saints to praie for me. For all this honour is of necessarie geuen to the thing it selfe, whose Image it is.

60. Besides all these reasons, there is yet an other of great force, and that is this. The name of an honourable Personage is honourable, because it belongeth to his person: in so much that the Prophet every where crieth

The sixth
case of ho-
nouring
Images.

Psal. 112. *o^ut, Sit nomen Domini benedictum.* Let the name of the Lord be blessed . And it is written of the blessed Saints of God, *Their name shall liue from generation to generation.* And the very Heathens in mentioning a man of honor, vised to say, *Quem honoris causa nomino,* whom I name to honour him thereby.

61. Seing then the Image of Christ beareth Christes name , and in common speach is called Christ , it must needes ensue , that the Image of Christ as it partaketh his name, so it partaketh the same honour also , which is due to the name of Christ. This argument is so strong , and the reason thereof so well grounded in nature and truth , that the Imagebreakers , although they brake Christs Image wherefoeuer they found it , yet being demanded whether they had broken Christs Image or no, were naturally ashamed to say, they had broken Christes Image, but turned the thing into other termes, saying, we haue broken Idols.

62. And when it was againe asked, whether Christes Image were an Idol , being yet pricked a fresh with natural inclination to auoid the enuy and shame, either of breaking any thing which bare that blessed name of Christ , or of calling it an Idol : they were constrained to answeare, not directly to the question, but generally, that al Images which

are

Note.

are worshiped, are Idols.

63. O the testimony of our cōscience how Why men
great it is? The tong dareth not speake, that
which the hand feared not to do. And why
so? Because our wordes haue a greater affi-
nity with our hart, then our handes haue.
Many dare kill a man, who dare not say, they
haue killed a man. Moreouer there are found
men so desperat, that they dare confesse them
selues to haue killed their ennemie: but yet
few or none dare to say, I haue killed a man.

64. As therefore we are certified by that
natural feare, which men haue, to say they
killed a man, *that it is against nature to kill a
man*: so in that men are ashamed to say, they
haue destroied the Image of Christ or of the
Saints, *it appeereth well to be a thing against na-
ture, to destroy the Images of the Saints.*

65. Suidas writeth, that Constantinus
Copronymus commanded, that none of all
the frinds or Ministers of God should be cal-
led *Sanc*tus*, a Saint*, or holy, but only that
we should say, *Mary, Peter, Paul*, and not S.
Mary the Mother of God, nor S. Peter, or
S. Paule: as thinking thereby to saue him-
selfe from the infamy of destroying the Im-
ages of the Saintes, if he might prouide, that
there should be none called Saints at all. To
the same matter it belongeth that Theodo-
rus Studiens writeth. *Imaginem hominis ho-*

In verbo
Constan

Psal. 112. *out, Sit nomen Domini benedictum.* Let the name of the Lord be blessed . And it is written of the blessed Saints of God, *Their name shall live from generation to generation.* And the very Heathens in mentioning a man of honor, vised to say, *Quem honoris causa nomino,* whom I name to honour him thereby.

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Note.

are worshiped, are Idols.

63. O the testimony of our cōscience how Whymen great it is? The tong dareth not speake, that which the hand feared not to do. And why so? Because our wordes haue a greater affinity with our hart , then our handes haue. Many dare kill a man, who dare not say, they haue killed a man. Moreouer there are found men so desperat, that they dare confess them selues to haue killed their ennemie: but yet few or none dare to say, I haue killed a man.

64. As therefore we are certified by that natural feare, which men haue , to say they killed a man, *that it is against nature to kill a man:* so in that men are ashamed to say, they haue destroied the Image of Christ or of the Saints, *it appeereth well to be a thing against nature, to destroy the Images of the Saints.*

65. Suidas writeth , that Constantinus Copronymus commanded, that none of all the frinds or Ministers of God should be called *Sanctus, a Saint,* or holy , but only that we should say, *Mary, Peter, Paul,* and not S. Mary the Mother of God, nor S. Peter , or S. Paule: as thinking thereby to saue himselfe from the infamy of destroying the Images of the Saintes, if he might prouide, that there should be none called Saints at all. To the same matter it belongeth that Theodorus Studiensis writeth. *Imaginem hominis hominem*

In verba
Constan-

It is ioy-minem vocant, bouis bouem: Imaginem verued to the Apologie of Damascene for Images.

Christi. Deipara, aut cuiuscunquerandem Sanc-torum, nullo pacto sustinent nominare iuxta prototypum, aut iuxta id vnde deriuatur: Sed Images simpliciter, nec aliud esse fatentur, quam Images. Huius autem ne fint, an illius, non addunt, vt ne comperto errore à communione abarceantur. Tanta isti redundant absurditate & blasphemia.

66. They call the Image of a man, a man; and the Image of an oxe, an oxe. But they can not abide by any meanes, that the Image of Christ, or of his Mother, or of any one of all the Saints, should be called according to the first sampler, or els according to that, from whence it was deriued: but they call them Images simply, neither do they confess them to be any other thing then Images, not adding whether it be this (Saints) Image, or that, lealt, their errour being found, they may be expelled from the Communiō. Into such absurdite and Blasphemie these men be fallen.

67. If then in all ages they themselues who brake the Images of the Saints, were ashamed to call them the Images of the Sain tes, our intent is proued thereby, that it is against naturall honestie, to breake his Image, who is him selfe an honourable Personage, as Christ is, and his blessed Mother,

and

and Apostles. For when that is done which the tongue is ashamed to name, the silence of the tongue proueth the filthines of the fact.

68. By this also M. Iewels Proposition Articu.¹⁴ may be vnderstoode , wherin he affirmeth: *that Images were not sette vp in the Churches Within the first six hundred yeares , to the intent the people might worship them.*

69. What meane you by Images, Maister Jewel? There are Images of Deuils , Images of Heathens , and Images of Heretiques. For Germanie is full of the Images of Luther, and of Melanchthon . But the Catholiques did neuer set vp such Images to be honoured . You should haue expressed vnto vs the Images of Christ, and of his Saintes. But you were ashamed to call these men Saints, whose Images you allow not.

70. If you, M. Iewel, benot ashamed of your owne doctrine, if you dare say that, which your brethren euery where do? Marke what your doctrine must needes be , seing it must be contrary to ours , which is as followeth.

71. Christs Image is sette vp in the Church, with this faith and beliefe of the Catholiques , *that Christ him selfe is worthy to haue the honour of an Image.* The which hath alwaies bene one kinde of honouring Noble men,

The doc-
trin of the
catholiks,

72. Item, Christes Image is sette vp in the Church to this end, that we remembryng what he did and suffered for vs, shoulde loue him and follow him. The which end being good, maketh the Act of the setting vp the Image to be good.

73. Item, we adore Christ so perfylie, that we suffer not so much as his Image to be vnhonoured.

74. Item, we beleue it to be a contumelie done to Christ, if his Image be broken.

75. It would greue any Prince (I am sure) to heare, that his Image should be broken. And thinke you, that such contumelie may be freely done to Christ, as no Prince would take at your handes? Breake (M. Iewel) if you dare the Image of the Queenes Maiestie, or the Armes of the realme. Pull doun any banner or helmet, or other Ensigne, or token belonging to the honorable Knights of the Garter, or to the Knights of any worshipfull order. If they take it well, then Christ may perhaps be content to see his owne Image destroyed.

76. But if all noble men would accompt them selues diffamed, and vtterly dishonored, if their Images or Armes of Honour, should be contemptuously throwen doun: what villanie, what impietie, what blasphemie is it, to thinke Christ to be of lesse Nobilitie

the sevēn
cause of
honoring
Images
by the cō-
parie.

littie, then these are, some of whom may be
damned for euer to hel fire?

77. If any faith or loue of Christ be left
in nobilitie, I would wish they tooke it at the
least so greeuously to see Christes Croffe,
with his armes of honor, or his Image
broken and throwen doun, as it grieueth
them to see their own Armes or Images con-
temned. Thus Catholiques say.

Consider
it most ho-
nourable
Lordes,

M. Iewels
doctrine
in effect.

78. But M. Iewel being of a contrary opi-
nion to vs, must needes defend the contrary
propositions: to witte. *Christ is not worthy of
that honour, which is geuen to noble men by set-
ting vp of their Images.* How say you M. Iewel,
is that your proposition or no? If it be, pro-
fesse it, and then I say, that by your doctrine,
Christ (concerning his manhood) is not wor-
thy of all such honor, as one man may geue
to an other. For this is one kinde of honour,
which all Nations haue vsually geuen vnto
excellent men, *to set vp their Images or armes.*

79. Item, you must say M. Iewel, *Theire
faith who thinke Christ as worthy of the honor
of an Image, as Iulius Cesar or Socrates was,
is no good faith.* Ergo by your doctrine, *Christ is
lesse Honourable, then Iulius Cesar.*

80. Item you must say: *It is not well done
to set vp Christes Image, to the end we may re-
member what he did or suffered for vs, and to ho-
nor the cause of that remembrance: otherwise
you*

1.

2.

3.

Of Images, and
you can not goe against our doctrine, as you
now do.

4. 81. Item you must say, Christ is not wor-
thy of so much honour, that for his sake his Image
should also be honoured of vs.

5. 82. Item you must say. It is well done to
breake Christes Image.

83. Item, it is no contumelie to a Prince, to
haue his Image broken.

84. But if these propositions be false, and
as soone as they are spoken, appeere absurd
and against all reason: consequently the who-
le doctrine, which oppugneth the honoring
of Christes Image, is false, absurd, and a-
gainst all reason. For it doth that thinge,
which the tong dareth not simple and plain-
ly professe.

85. On the other side, when we honour
Images, we doe no more then we dare say.
For as in my deede I bow to Christes Image,
or put off my cap to any Saints Image, so
without suspition of any Idolatrie, I may say,
what the
tholikes
ay say.
in words, This Image representeth a Saint, Who
reigneth with God in heauen, Who is a lively
member of Christ, Who in Christ as in a glasse
seeth me, When so euer I desire helpe by his prayer,
and knowe by my hart (by Christes revealing) and
therefore I honour him in my hart, and honour
his remembraunce in my mouth, and honour his
Image in my deede. All is one to say this much,

or by my deede to signifie the same.

86. So that the Images of Christ, and of his Saintes, may and must be honoured, according to the law of Nature, the which is declared seuernt waies.

87. First, because they be an occasion to vs of a good remembrance.

88. Secondly, because they speedily and most conueniently informe our inward imagination, wherin our vnderstanding apprehendeth the truth.

89. Thirdly, because they are naturallie knit and adioyned to the truth (concerning their shape and representation.)

90. Fourthly, because all Nations haue honoured them in respect of theire vertue, whose Images they are.

91. Fifthly, because the relation of honour is so necessarily betweene the Image, & the thing meant to be honoured by the Image, that if the Image be not honoured, the thing can not be honoured thereby.

92. Sixthly, because as the name of Christ is communicated to his Image, so the honour due to his name, is in the same degree, to be communicated vnto his Image also.

93. Last of all, if it be a contumelie to the Prince to haue his Image broken, and an honour to haue it regarded: the like must needes come to passe in Christ, whose honour is so great

great by nature, that nothing at all, which belongeth to him, ought to be without Honour and Estimation.

*It is proued out of the Worde of God, that the
Images of honourable things ought to
be honoured.*

THE XII. CHAPTER.

1. Pope Adrian writing to the Emperour Constantinus and Irene his mother, concerning the Seventh General Council gathered together at Nice, alleadeth for making and honouring of Images (among many other texts of holy Scripture) that place of Genesis , where it is written , that God made man according to his owne Image and Similitude : and shewing wherin the Image and similitude consisted , the Pope addeth that God illuminated and established man in free power of him selfe . And that he being of free will , called through the pleasure of God , all the beastes of the earth and the foules of the aier , by proper names .

2. M. Jewel in his Replie understandeth not , how these places apperteine to the purpose of making or of honouring Images , but rather he mocketh at all those Fathers learning , and disdaineth to be accounted lighter then

Gen. 1.

Conc. Ni.

Act. 2.

Fol. 480.

Gen. 2.

Artic. 14.

fol. 508.

then they were . Which contempt of those
reuerend Fathers, moued me at this time to
speak of certaine places alleged out of Gods
worde in that Councell, and to shew, that
they are learnedly applied : trusting that by
these few, the Reader will judge the like, of
all the rest.

3. First of all it is to be noted, that Damas-
cene also bringeth many of the verie same
places for the same purpose. I pray you, M.
Jewel, is Damascene of so light credite with
you, that he also can not tell how to vse the
holie Scriptures?

4. Surely how preaty a man so euer you
thinke your selfe to be, your booke wil lie
rotting in corners, if they scape the fire, when
his woorkes will be in such estimation, euen
to the ende of the worlde, as they haue bene
aboue these seuen hundred yeares past.

5. He saith: *Deus hominem ad suam Imaginem fecit. Cuius igitur gratia inuicem adoramus, nisi quatenus ad Imaginem Dei facti sumus?* Nam, vt inquit deifer & magnus in diuinis Basilius, *Imaginis honor ad exemplaris transfertur honorem.* God made man to his Image . For what cause then doe we adore one an other, but in that respect , as we are made to the Image of God ? For as godly Basil , who is great in diuine matters, saith, the honour of the Image is transferred or conueyed ouer to

De Orbis
fide ca. 171

the

6. Cyrillus reasoneth after the same sort.

Cyrill. in *Imago lignea terrani Regis honoratur, quando magis rationalis Imago Dei?* The wodden Image of an earthly Kinge is honoured, how much more is the reasonable Image of God worthy of honor?

Catech. 12

7. It appeereth then that man being the Image of God, is for that very cause worthy of honour. Which thing if it be once graunted (as it is most true) the argument of Pope

Adrian deriuied from the honor due to men in that they are the Images of God, to the honouring also of such Images, as doe represent holy men, is a most perfitt argument. And may be shewed at large after this sort.

Tim. 1.

8. God is absolutely worthy of all honour, which thing needeth no proofe.

Genes. 1.

9. Man is made according to the Image of God, and that also is plaine.

Theod. in
Gen. q. 20.

10. Whether this Image consist in grace and in all Vertue, or in reason, free will, and in the Authority or Gouvernment, or in whatsoever thing beside, once the Image of God is the highest gifte that man hath in him.

11. Therefore if any man be worthy of honour in any respect (as many men are for diuerse causes) doubtlesse that honor is due to man specially for that he is made according

to Gods Image.

Rom. 2.

12. If man may and must be honoured, because he is made according to the Image of God, the Cause of his Honour dependeth of the Image of God which is in him. For God him selfe is so honourable, that a thing made according to his Image, can not be but worthy of some honour.

Cyril.

Catech. 12

13. This being true, then doth it necessarily follow, that the Image of an honorable thing is worthy of Honour, for his sake Whose Image it is. For this particular proposition, Man being made to the Image of God (Who is most worthie of honour) is him selfe to be honoured in that respect, as he is made according to Gods Image: this particular proposition, I say, dependeth of this vniuersall proposition, and of this generall reason: Every Image of an honorable thing is worthie of some honour, for his sake Whose Image it is. For if that be not so, it will follow, that man beinge made to the Image of God, must not be in such respect honoured, to the end honour may come thereby to God.

14. But if this last particular saying be true, it is true, for that the other vniuersall saying is true. As likewise it is true, that, Plato being a man, is reasonable, because, every thing that is a man, is reasonable.

15. If then the vniuersall proposition be

N

true,

true, that euerie Image of an honostrable thing,
is worthie of honour, for his sake whose Image
it is, then will an other particular proposition
be inferred also thereupon: to wit, that the
Image of our Ladie, or of S. Paule, and much
more of Christ, is the Image of an honourable
thing: therefore the Images of our Ladie, and
of S. Paule, and of Christ are worthy of some
honour, for our Lady, S. Paule, and Christes
owne sake.

16. Mocke now, M. Jewel, if you haue
either witte, or sense, or shame. Or if you
haue done mocking, then either fume and
freat in vaine, or humbly geue ouer your
blasphemies, and confess Pope Adrian to
haue had an other maner of discourse, then
your vnderstanding blinded with affection,
could attaine vnto.

17. Yet to shewe farther the weight of
this reason, it is to be considered, that as God
only is honourable by nature (accordingly as
1.Timo.1.

*S. Paule saith, to God alone be honour and glo-
rie) and yet as man being made of God ac-
cording to his Image, is therby partaker of
Gods honour (for God will render honour to
them that seeke him) but yet in a degree so
much inferiour to God, as the creature is be-
hind the creatour (for as Theodoretus saith)
man hath the name of Gods Image, but not
quast, 20. the thing, that is to say, not the selfe same*

Rom. 2.

In Gen.
quast, 20.

sub-

substance of God) so, whereas our Lady or S. Paule are honourable in their owne personages by Gods gift, yet their Images (being made by the artificer according to their similitude) ought also to be partakers of theire honour, but in a degree so much inferiour to our Ladie and to S. Paul, by how much a reasonable and liuing creature, doth excell a representation or similitude, which hath the name only and not also the thing, that is to say, which hath not mans reason or life in it.

18. Marke the proportion euerie way. On the one side, God is the principall, and man is made to his Image. On the other side, man is the principall, and a stone or a peece of wood is made to his Image. God maketh man according to his Image of nothing. And that is the power and glory of the Maker, but not of him that is made. The Image of man is made of somewhat, because the Artificer who maketh it, is not able to make it of nothing, and that is the weakenesse of the workeman, but not any defect of the Image.

19. Man is not Gods Image by nature, but by creation, neither is the stone or the painted colours mans Image by nature, but by arte. God passeth man infinitely. Man passeth his owne Image much in deede, but not infinitely.

20. Wel then, seeing some honour is due to man, because he hath some steppe or similitude of God in him: surely some honor also may be due to the painted or grauen figure of a man, because it hath some step or similitude of the man in it. For it beareth mans shape, and also his name.

21. Among al men, none are so truly honorable, as thole who continued to the end of their life accordinge to that Image of God, wherunto they were first made. Such are all the Saintes. Moreouer their Images are made in the faith of Gods Church, to the end other men may be stirred by the sight of them, to like vertue and godliness.

22. Therefore there can be no dout, but that by the force of Gods worde, we are bound to honor the Images of the Saintes, because they are made according to the shape of them, in that behalfe as they were most like vnto God.

23. What say we, if there be a greater distance betweene God and euен his holy creatures, then betweene our Lady and her Image? Doth not then the honour more quickly and more certeinly, and with lesse daunger of Idolatrie, passe ouer from our Ladies Image, to her selfe, then from our Ladie her selfe, to God? And for that good reason may be al leadged, For there is no comparison between

God

God and any creature, be the creature made neuer so honorable. But betweene a creature, and the worke of the Artificer, there is some compariton.

24. God is an euerlasting essence and nature. But the creature is made of nothing, and shoulde againe fall into nothing, if God did not susteine it, and vphold it. What proportion then can be, betweene all thing, yea, betweene that, which is for euer by nature aboue all things, and that which is by gift made of nothing, and still by gift kept from nothing? There is doutlesse no comparison to speake of, betweene God and our Ladie, or S. Paule.

25. But betweene our Lady and her Image, there is at the least some proportion. For they are both made, both consiste of materiall Elementes, both subiect by nature to corruption, and both kept from nothinge through the goodnes of God.

26. If now S. Paule and our Ladie, may and must be honoured for Gods sake, who is so farre distant from them by nature, and to whose Image they approche so slenderly and scantely: how much more may the Image of our Lady be honored for our Ladies sake, the which her Image approacheth nearer to her in nature, then she doth approche to God?

27. Moreover, the Image and similitude of God in vs (consisting rather in vertue and grace infused into our soules from God, then in our natural substance or manhood) may be dimmed and darkned: in so much that many men haue not bene knownen to be the Images of God, but haue bene principally worshipped as Gods them selues, as it is knownen of Iupiter, Mars, and Venus. But our Ladies artificial Image being only knownen or called by the name of her shape and Image, can neuer be principally worshipped as our Ladie herselfe. For then it is not any more the only shape or Image of our Lady. So that it is a contradiction to say, it is only our Ladies Image, and yet it is our Ladie herselfe.

28. The like would haue chanced to men, if their names had bene to be called Gods created Images. For then they could neuer haue bene principally worshipped, vnder that name, as Gods, but only as the Images of God. But for so much as they were not alwaies called nor taken for Gods created Images, they were abused as Gods them selues. And in deede the more they had in themselues of reason, of vertue, or of power, the soner they were to much honored by ignorant men. Likewise the farther of, all artificiall Images are from life and reason (they haue

hauie in deede none at all) the farther they sostome
are from the daunger to be worshipped as maketh.
Gods.

29. Let this suffice for the first reason,
whereat M. Iewels wisedome mocked. And
when he hath answered it as I make it (and
not as he according to his wrangling custome
will turne it, and make my argument anew)
then time will trie, who hath the truth.

30. It were infinite thus to amplifie euery
reason, which is alleaged in the seuenth most
learned Councell. But I will touch only a
few of them, leauing it to the Readers iudg-
gement, to weigh by this one example, the
grauity and breuitie of those holy Fathers
(who comprised long discourses in very few
wordes) and the light braines of these new
broched brethren, who reprove they can not
tell what,

31. The same Pope Adrian doth also al-
leage an other Testimonie out of holy Scrip-
ture, which now followeth.

In ep. 3
Constan-
tia.
act. 2
Gen. 31

32. Jacob hauing seene the vision of the
ladder, whose toppe touched heauen, and
the Angels of God going vp and doun vpon
it, and hearing God say to him. *All the tribes
of the earth shall bee blessed in thee, and in thy
seede,* rose vppe in the morning, and tooke
the stone which he had laied vnder his head,
and he raised, or, did sette it vppe for a Monu-
mentum Erexit titulum

set in sta- ment (or standing Image) pouuring oile vpon it. And he named the place (which was before called Luza) Bethel. That is to say, *The house of God.*

33. And he vowed to offer there, the tenthes of all thinges at his retурne. This stone (said he) *Whiche I haue raised vp for a Monument, shall be called the house of God.*

34. This stone thus set vp, was made thereby a manifest Signe, Monument, Image, and representation to Iacob, of Gods promise, and of his vision. The same stone erected or set vp for a Monument, in a place named *the house of God*, doth declare, that Images may be set vp for a good remembrance in Christian Churches, which also are the houses of God. The pouring of oile vpon the stone, and the vowed to offer the tenthes of his goodes there, doth shew that stone to be singularly segregated and separated from other common and prophane stones, albeit not for the stones owne sake, but for the honour of the Diuine promise there heard, and of the heauenly vision there seene, whereof the stone is made an Image.

35. Now when a stone which was before common, is sette aboue all common stones, and preferred not onely before things of the same kinde, but also before grasse, trees, and beastes (which are of a higher degree in nature,

Note.

ture, then ordinarily the stone should be of) is not that the making of the stone, to be a reuerent and an honourable Monument?

36. Now because euery Image is the figure and signe of some truth, S. Augustine telleth vs, that this stone thus sette vp, *bokeneth, that Gods House and Temple should stand afterward in the same place.* And that pouring of oile vpon it, was a prophecy belonging to Christ, who by his incarnation was anointed the Heade of Mankinde, euer according to his Manhood.

37. As therfore it was no Idolatrie, to set vp and to annoiint the stone with such a mind as ended in the honour of Christ (whereas otherwise it had bene Idolatrie if either the stone it selfe, or a false God, had bene the last end of the anointing) so when any Image of Christ or of his Apostles is set vp, and when conuenient reuerence is done thereunto for Christes sake, it is no Idolatrie, but a godly and vertuouse acte.

38. For S. Augustine well noteth, that, *Jacob did not adore the stone, nor made sacrifice to the stone, nor called it God, but the house of God.* No more may we adore an Image made of stone, either with godly honor, or els with any honor at all for the stones owne sake, nor we may not make Sacrifice therunto, nor call it our God, but a thing of God, that is to say,

the

Super Co-
nes quest.
83. 84. &c
85.

the Image of that Saint , whose shape it begetteth, the which Saint is of God. And in that respect, whiles we reverence it , as it is appointed to serue a godly vse , God is the last ende of our honour.

2. Reg. 24. 39. But as the anointing of Kinge Saul made him so Honourable , that King Dauid would not lay his handes vpon the *Anointed of the Lord*: So the anointing of the stone for true Religions sake, sheweth it to haue bene made a reuerent monument , which neither Jacob nor any other good man would afterward haue pulled doun, but rather he would purposely haue gon to that place to haue honoured God there , like as Eusebius doth witness, that euuen at his time the place was reuerenced , where the three Angels appered to Abraham.

Gen. 28. 40. And that God doth preferre one place before an other , it is evident in Abraham, *Whom he commaunded to go into the land of vision, saying: there thou shalt offer thy sonne, a whole burnt offering vpon one of the hills which I shall shew to thee.* And this hill is thought to haue bene the very same place, where Jacob also did sette vp this Monument: so that some one Monument and place may lawfully be honored aboue an other, in respect of God and of his Friendes,

41. The same Jacob also adored , as the Scrip-

Euseb. l. 5.
c. 9. De mo
Euangel.

Scriptures teach, the toppe of Ioseps Rodde or Heb. 11.
Scepter. That is to say. Hee bowed dounes
toward it, and shewed him selfe to reueren-
ceit, and in it, to adore the holy Crosse, or
scepter and royal power of Christ, whose I-
mage Ioseph bare.

42. Whereupon Sedulius writeth: *Misti-
cè designat regnum Christi in fine seculis adoran-
dum, sicut ipse Virgam filij sui adorauit.*

Sedul. in
c. 11. Ho-
bre.

43. He doth betoken Mysticallie, that the
Kingdome of Christ, must be honoured in
the ende of the world, euen as Iacob did a-
dore the rodde or scepter of his sonne.

44. There is then a case when a creature
without sense, may be adored for his sake,
which hath reason and vertue. Neither doth
it skill, that this place is otherwise reade in
the Hebrew, and otherwise expounded by
some auncient Fathers. For although the re-
adings differ, yet they are both true: the one Gen. 47.
being vttered by Moyses, the other by Saint
Paul, and by the seuentie Interpretours.

45. There is no worse custome in Hereti-
ques, then by one truth to marre an other.
Why might not Iacob adore the toppe of
Iosephs rodde or scepter, bowing him selfe
also toward his beads head? Admitte Iacob
had onely leaned vpon the scepter of Ioseph,
and so had worshipped Ioseph, and in Ioseph
Christ: yet euen that was the doing of ho-
nour

nour to Ioseph by his scepter, and to the scepter for Iosephs sake, and aboue all to Christ.

Quest. in
Gca. 162.

Note.

Exo. 3.

46. S. Augustine saith, *Non pudebat eum ferre tantisper insigne potestatis filij sui, ubi figura magna rei futura prafigurabatur.* (Jacob) was not ashamed to beare a little while the enigne of his sonnes power, where the figure of a great thing that should come after, was betokened. Lette not vs then be ashamed in like case to esteeme a thing of a baser condition then we our selues are of, when it is the figure of a greater thing then we are.

47. What shall we say of that vision of Moyses, when he sayy the bush a fire, and yet not consumed? Said not God to him at that time, *Moises, Moises, approchē not hither, put thy shooes of thy feete, for the place where thou standest, is holy ground?* Could the ground which was without reason or sense, yet be made holy?

48. If it was in deede holy for his presence who spake out of the bush, and being holie, it might not be troden vpon with Moy-ses shooes, seeing the absteyning to tread vpon it, is the doing of a certaine honour to it, may not an Image which is apointed to bring vs to the remembrance of holy things, be also holy? and being holy, shall it not, according to this Example, be reverenced some way or other?

49. What

49. What excessive honour gaue David to
the arke of God, when he danced before it, 2. Reg. 6:
and became like a foole in the sight of fooles,
that he might be rewarded as a wise man, in
the sight of God? And yet the material Arke,
was but a shadow of Christ.

50. The brasen Serpent being set vp *pro
figo*, for a signe, and the children of Israel
being commanded to looke vpon it, & being
thereby healed, did it not shewe evidently,
that an Image may be sette vp to be looked
vpon, and that by looking on it God may
succour vs, if we vsle it only to that purpose,
for which it was sette vp? But if we make the
signe to be the thing it selfe (as the Iewes did)
that is in deede a most miserable seruitude,
and such as more easily fell vppon carnall
Iewes, who commonlye were inclined to
make euery thing their God, then it is like
to fall vpon those, whom Christ hath deli-
vered from such blindnes and thraldom. But
howsoeuer a thing be well or euill vsed, it
is proued by this example of the serpent,
that an Image being vsed (as an Image ought
to be vsed) may be reuerenced and conueniently
regarded for the truthes sake which
it signifieth.

51. When the children of Ruben, of Gad,
and of the halfe Tribe of Manasses, built an
Aultar in the Land of Chanaan, not to make Iosue. 30
sacr.

sacrifice vpon it, but only for a testimonie betweene them and the other Tribes their brethren, what was that, but only the Image of an Altar? But yet it was an honourable Image, because it bare the name of Gods Altar, and because it was a remembraunce to them, *vt seruirent Domino*, to the ende they seeing it, might remember to goe to the true Altar of God, there to make their lawfull sacrifice.

Exod. 25. 52. In the law of Moyses God willed ~~two~~ Angels to be made, & to be sette vp in ech side, ouer the Arke, their faces lookinge toward the propitiatory, and thence he promised to speake vnto Moyses, and by him to shew his pleasure to the Children of Israel. These gratieng Angels were manifest Images of the highest order of Angels (sauing one) which is in heauen. They were made with faces of beautifull yong men; and were commannded to be sette vp of God himselfe, in the Holy of Holies, which Saint Hierom witnesseth the Iewes to haue worshipped and thereby proueth to Marcella, that much more the Sepulchre of Christ in Ierusalem ought to be worshipped.

Hier. epi.
ad Mar-
cellam.

venerabā-
tur Iudei
sancta sā-
ctorū quia
ibi erant

53. If then the Iewes, beinge as yet not made free in spirit, neuerthelesse worshipped the Holy of Holies, and that (as S. Hierom there saith) because the Cherubins, and the Pro-
pitioary,

piciatory, and the Arke of truse were in them, Cherubim
much more in the time of spirituall liberty,
when grace aboundeth, and the knowledge
of God is so spread by the holy Ghost in our
hartes, that we neede not to feare idolatry (as
the Iewes needed) much more nowe holy
Representations and Images may be sette vp
in our Churches, and may also be worship-
ped of vs.

54. And for as much as (the Veile of the
old Temple being rent in sunder at the time
of Christes Passion) all that was hidden in the
Law, is now sette open to vs, M. Iewels Matt. 27.
answere (which he maketh to Doctor Har-
ding) will not serue, to say, that those Im-
ages were sette vp within the veile, whether
none entred beside the Bishop. For now the
body and lower part of our Churches is that
vnto vs, which the place inclosed within the
Veile or the Chauncel, was vnto the Iewes.

55. We then may in the state of the new
Testament as freely haue Images in our open
Churches, as the Iewes had them in their
Chauncell or secret vestry. And yet if their
whole Temple was an Image of Christes
body (as in deede it was) they also had an Ioan. 2.
Image openly sette vp before their eyes.

56. Yea but we may not honour Images
(saith Master Iewel) as who should say, the
Temple was not exceedingly honoured of
all

all the Iewes in the Law. For where soeuer
the Iewes were in all the world, they prayed
to God turning their faces toward the Taber-
nacle or Temple. Whereof King Salomon
saith, *if the people going forth to battaile praine
toward the house of God, he will beare their
prayers in heauen.*

s. Reg. 1.

Dan. 6.

Heb. 10.

57. And therefore the Prophet Daniel
being now in Babilon, yet opening his cham-
ber windowes, *he prayed toward Jerusalem,*
where the Temple of God was wont to stād.
It was a great honour doutlesse to the mate-
riall Temple, so to be yfed, not in deede for
its owne sake, but because it was an Image,
yea rather a shadow of Christ. For an Image
is more then a shadow, as S. Paule saith, *The
Law had a shadow of good things to come, and
not the selfe Image of the things.*

58. If then a material Temple being but a
shadow of Christ, that is to say, a darke Im-
age, only shewing that Christ should come in
a body, but yet not able to tell what kind of
body it should be: if that Temple being so
but a shadow of Christ, was yet adored for
Christes sake who was not then in flesh: how
much more shall an expresse Image of his bo-
die, the which body is now really united to
him? how much more shall that Image so
neere representing his shape, be adored and
worshipped for his sake, of those who will
per-

performe that in the new Testament, which
the Law presfigured?

59. Neither ought this honour which is
geuen to Images, seeme absurd to any man,
if he remember, that the honour geuen to
them, doth goe vnto the principall truth
which is figured; the which relation and
passing of honor from one thing to an other,
if he take away, I aske him, by what mea-
nes he geueth godly honour to Christes na-
turall flesh?

60. Surely if he will goe no further, but
to the only nature of flesh, as flesh, it may
not be worshipped with Gods owne honor.
But because the flesh of Christ must be res-
pected, as a thing vntited to the Godhead in
one person: for the respect and truth also of
this vniion, we ought to geue the same ho-
nor to Christes flesh, which we geue to God,
for it is made the flesh of the naturall Sonne
of God.

61. *Seing then a thing may behonoured a-*
boue the condition of its owne nature, for an
other cause (although the vniion be a greater
cause, why Christes flesh should be honou-
red, then the relation which is betweene the
Image and the first sample) yet herein they
agree, that eche of them is honoured for an
other true respect, beside that which is in
the nature of the stuffe or matter whereof

Q

they

Gods
owne ho-
nor is ge-
uen to
Christes
flesh in re-
spect of an
other
thing,

they consist.

Note.

62. Christes flesh is not God, but it is vnitied to God. Christes Image is not Christ, but it is referred to Christ. The vniion is higher then the relation, therefore the honour due to it is greater: but the relation is one degree of a certayne vniion, therfore some honour is due to the Image, for that it is referred vnto Christ, for every Image is referred to the thing, whose Image it is.

Marc. 12.

63. Christ being demaunded, whether tribute might be paid to Cæsar or no, called for a penny, and having learned that it bare the Image and inscription of Cæsar, said, *render therefore those things vnto Cæsar, which belong to Cæsar.* Did he not here evidently teache, that every Image belongeth to that truth, whose Image it beareth?

64. If this be Cæsars Image, geue it then (saith he) vnto Cæsar. As who should say: the very shape, the very inscription, the vertie forme, and print thereof, leades you to consider, that this coyne may lawfullie be gauen to Cæsar; Euen so doth every Image lead vs to that truth, whereof it is the Image.

65. If then the Image belong to the truth, the honour of the Image belongeth to the honour of the truth: and consequently, when the truth is worthy of honour, the Image thereof is (for the truthe sake) worthy of some

some honour.

66. I omitte in this place to prosecute at large such holy Scriptures , as doe proue the Signe of the Crosse to be most honorable. (And yet the said Signe being the similitude of Christ redeeming vs vpon the Crosse , is a very true and perfite Image.) For Amalech was ouerthrown by the signe or holy representation which Moyses made , when he prayed to God with his handes lifted vp and spreade abrode.

Exo. 17

67. And because Moyses did not spread and hold vp his hands by chatince , but Prophetically , that is to say , betokening and imitatinge that forme and shape , wherein Christ would redeeme the world : for that cause , the lifting vp of his hands , was an Image. And who may dout , but it was an honourable Image , which God did honour and commend vnto vs by a miracle wrought therein.

68. For when Moyses held vp his hands , Israel ouercame , but if he did neuer so little slacke them , Amalech ouercame . What meant this , but to shew , that the Signe or Image of lifting vp Moyses handes , was so holy , so reuerend , so honorable (for Christes sake , who should spread his handes vpon the Crosse) that by it the people of Israel ouercame ? We may therfore and must honour

the Signe of the Crosse, in whatsoeuer stiffe or matter it be made. And by the same reason, we may honour euery Image, which expresseth and followeth the shape and forme of a holy thing.

69. By this Signe of *Thau*, that is to say, of the Crosse, those were marked in the fore-head (as Ezechiel witnesseth) who hated Idolatry. And shall we now thinke, that the honouring of the same Signe is the committing of Idolatry? Those that had Thau (the Signe of the Crosse) were not slaine corporally: and thinke we now, that those who haue it and embrace it, shalbe slaine euerlastingly?

70. Make a new Bible, if you can (M. Jewel) for certeinly the old Bible will haue the Signe of the Crosse worshipped. Yea the new also: because the same Signe is called, *The signe of the Sonne of man, whiche shall appeere in heauen, at the day of iudgement.* Neither doth it skill, whether the Crosse it selfe whereupon Christ died, or the Signe thereof made in the aier, shall appeere, or els whether Christ stretchinge out his armes, will make that Signe vnto vs.

71. Euery way that Signe shall appeere, to the confusion & vtter damnation of those, who now haue throwen downe that Signe, wheresoeuer they could come by it: vnlesse they

they repent, whiles yet the vertue of that Signe may be applied vnto them.

72. A thousand times, what say I, a thousand? Euerlastingly accursed is he, that hateth or destroyeth any one iote belonging to Christ, be it neuer so far distant from his holie flesh and Person. A far bigger booke then this presēt is, would not serue to shew, what honour is due to the Signe of our Redemp-
tion.

73. When Saint Peter walked in the stree-
tes, the people coueted to lie only within the
cumpasse of his shadow? And why so? Be-
cause they saw God worke miracles by his
bandes. Now they discoursed thus with
them selues. If this man be so well beloued
of God, surely any thing that belongeth to
him, is deere and acceptable vnto God. Ther-
fore if we may but atteine to haue his shadow
come ouer our bodies, we are safe. The like
said the faithfull woman, who was cured of
her bloody issue. *If I only may touche his gar-
ment, I shalbe safe.*

Actor. 5.

Math. 8.

74. Verily the Image of Christ is some-
what of his, otherwise it were not his Image.
Therefore if a man had that faith, as to be-
lieue that if he might touch or only see his
Image, he should be safe, I see no reason, why
that faith might not make him safe. Sithens
as the touching of the garment staied nor

314. *Of Images, and*
there, but the faith of the woman went vnto
Christes owne person: so the seing or tou-
ching of the Image, is not the end of our af-
fiance, but only Christ him selfe, whose I-
mage it is. But our faith in Christ appeereth
so great when we looke to be holpen by his
Image, that we iudge him so almighty, so
infinite, so present euery where by grace,
that the least thing in the world belonging to
him, yea though it were much lesse then his
Image, is able to doe vs good. Whereas the
Heretickes tie all thinges to his Person, and
nothing to his other instruments.

75. Much more might be laid in this be-
halfe (as in the seuenth Councell is to be
seen) but I will contente my selfe herewith,
telling M. Jewel, that he is ouer impudent,
to scoffe at the holy Scriptures, alleadged by
the most graue Senate of three hundred and
fiftie Bishops, not only to be considered as
learned, wise, and good men, but also as ga-
thered together, *In the name of Christ, Who
promised to be in the middest of them.* And no
meane Christian douteth, but that he per-
formeth his promise.

AN. 4. 76. How God is the better worshipped
in spirit and truth, for such conuenient ho-
nour as is geuen to Images, in respect of the
truth which they represent, it shalbe decla-
red, when I will intreat of the profice which

we take by Images.

77. To make an end at the length. Al that
 euer *a* Isaie, *b* Ieremie, *c* Ezechiel, *d* Micheas,
e Sophonias, *f* Zacharias, or King Dauid say
 of the destruction of Idols in the time of gra-
 ce, is vtterly voide and of none effect, if it
 be not lawfull to worship or to adore Images.
a cap. 2. *b* cap. 9. *c* cap. 30. *d* cap. 1.
e cap. 1. *f* cap. 13. Pial. 9.

78. For all the whole Church of Christ,
 that great Church I say, which is spread
 throughout all Nations, hath in all Temples
 and Chappels, where Christes name was
 called vpon, alwaies, and specially after the
 time of Constantinus the great (who resto-
 red the Christians to that libertie of wor-
 shipping God, whereof the Prophetes had
 spoken) sette vp an vsed reverently the Im-
 ages of Christ and of his Saintes.

79. If now to honour Images after that
 sort, be to committe Idolatrie (as our new
 Gospellers charge vs) Idols haue not bene
 taken away by Christ, and the Prophetes of
 God are made lyers. But much safer it is to
 thincke, that to esteeme holy Images for that
 honorable truthes sake which they shew, is
 rather a helpe to the true worshipping of one
 God, then any Idolatry at all.

Notes

That the Signe of the healthfull Crosse was honoured in the first six hundred yeeres, and of those two grosse ignorances in Master Jewel, thinking the Signe of the Crosse, not to be an Image, or that to haue the Signe of the Crosse, in great regard for Christes sake, is not to worship the same Signe, and consequently to worship an Image.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

1. When we speake of worshippinge the Crosse, we may either meane the materiall Crosse, wherupon Christ suffered, or els the Signe and Image thereof. The materiall wood of Christes Crosse is not only holie for the Signes sake (whereby it sheweth him who died vpon it) but also for that it was sanctified with Christes blood, and was the Altar whereupon the sacrifice of our reconciliation was offered, and the instrument of our redemption, whereby it is a holy relique also, and not only an Image.

2. When that wood was found by Helena in Ierusalem, a person dead, or diseased euen to death (or both) was thereby restored to health as 1. Ruffinus, 2. Sulpitius, 3. Socrates, Theodoreetus and Sozomenus doe witness. And the particles or peeces therof were sent

sent in the first six hundred yeeres from one a. Sacre
faithfull man to an other, for the greatest trea- histor. li. 2.
sure that might be. tripart. li.
2. cap. 18. Paulinus

3. This Crosse found by Helena, is cal-
led of S. Ambrose, *the standerd of salvation, the Epist. 11.
Wood of truth: yealise it selfe.* But because this Gregor. li.
honour may be certainly knownen to be ge- 7. Ep. 129.
uen to this Crosse, not as it is a peece of
wood, but as it is a reliue or an Image, and
a representation of Christes death vnto vs, De obitu
S. Ambrose in the same place saith by Hele- Theodosij
na, Regem adorauit, non lignum vtique, quia
bis gentilis est error, & vanitas impiorum, sed
adorauit illum qui pependit in ligno. Helena did
worshippe the King (to wit, Christ) and not
the wood, for this is the Gentils error, and a
vanitie of the wicked, but she worshipped
him, which did hang on the wood. And a-
gaine, whereas an heretick might reply, that
no honour at all was due to the wood, no
not in that respect as it belongeth to Christ,
S. Ambrose answereth thereunto. *Non insolentia ista, sed pietas est, cum deferratur sacra redemp-
tioni.* This is no insolency but godlines,
when honour is geuen to the holy redēption.
So that the honour done to Christes Crosse
goeth to Christ himselfe who redeemed vs.

4. Againe, S. Ambrose maketh the perfidiose Iewes with greefe to say: *Ecce & clavis in honore est, behold the naile also is honored,*

Et quem ad mortem impressimus, remedium salvatis est, atque invisibili quadam potestate demones sorquet. And the naile which we draue in, to kill him, is a remedy to auoid death ; and it tormenteth the Deuils by a certayne secret power . *Ferro pedum eius Reges inclinantur.* Kings are bowed to the yron of his feete.

5. Thus haue we a plaine doctrine , that the wood, and naile, and yron are to be honoured, & to be worshipped or bowed vnto, not in that they are materiall wood , and a materiall naile (for then they should be worshipped for their owne sakes , and not as Images) but in that they haue a relation to Christes hands, feete, death, and passion: that is to say , in that they are reliques of Christ, or Images and representations of an honourable truth vnto vs. Therefore we haue learned by Saint Ambrose, that the Images of honourable thinges, ought to be honoured, as they are Images, and not otherwise.

Eccles. hi-
stor. li. 10.
cap. 3 li 6.
cont. Iul.

6. The wood of the same Crosse is also called by Ruffinus, blessed , by S. Cyrius, pretious and healifull, not yet as it is wood, but as himselfe saith, because it leadeth vs to the memory of Christes death, whose wordes I alleaged before . Verily for wood to be honoured for an other honorable things sake, to whome the honour of the wood is referred, that is no more to say, but to be honou-

In the
third chap

red

red in that it is an Image.

7. And in this respect the Auncient Bishop Paulinus doth wirtnesse, that the same Crosse of Christ had a Church & a secret place made at Ierusalem, where it might be honorably reserued. *Quam Crucem Episcopus urbis eius quot annis, cum pascha Domini agitur, adorandum populo princeps ipse venerantium promittit.* The which Crosse (of our Sauiour) the Bishop of that City (of Ierusalem) bringeth forth euery yeere at the Easter of our Lord, to be adored by the people, himselfe being the first who doth worship it.

8. Much more is said there, and likewise in many other Fathers, concerning the said Crosse of Christ. But what neede particular witnesses, for so much as the whole Church of Christ hath kept these twelue hundred yeeres together, the Inuention, and these nine hundred yeeres, the Exaltation of the same Crosse? So that to dout of the honouring of the Crosse, whereon Christ died, it is to dout, whether it be day, when the sonne shineth brightly. Concerning that signe and Image of that same Crosse, the testimonies of the Primitiue Church are so famous and so well knownen, that M. Iewel douteth not to say:

Iew. The signe of the Crosse, I grauns, among the Christians was had in great regard, &c. In his reply Fol. 583.

g. Sander.

9. *Sander.* Yea thereof he sheweth both reason, and examples at large. What is it then, wherein he disagreeth from vs?

1. *De coro
na militis.*
2. *De spir.
S. c. 27.*

Iewel. It is not the Crosse, nor the signe of the Crosse, that we finde fault withall, but the superstitious abuse of the Crosse.

3. *Ad Iu-
baianum.*

10. *Sander.* Why is it not shewed, what

4. *Serm. 19
de sanctis.*

the same superstitiouse abuse is? For if it be

5. *Sozome-
aus lib. 2.*

a thing vsed in the whole Primitiue Church,

6. *Lib. 2.
De perse-
cut. Vand.*

it must not be called a superstitious abuse,

7. *In vita
Hilarion.*

For M. Iewel hath submitted himselfe to the

8. *de incar-
nat. verb.*

first six hundred yeeres. We signe our fore-

9. *Lactan.
li. 4. c. 27.*

heads with the Crosse (as 1. Tertullian wit-

10. *De vi-
sat. infir.
c. 3. Conc.*

nesseth, that the Christians did in his dayes)

and those that are baptized (as 2. S. Basil) or

11. *in Trul.
Damasc.*

bishopped (as 3. S. Cyprian) and we conse-

12. *4. c. 17.*

crate all our Sacraments, Churches, Altars,

13. *Laetantius.*

with the same Signe of the Crosse (as 4. S.

14. *Augustine.*

Augustine) and diuers auncient Fathers haue

15. *De vi-
sat. infir.
c. 3. Conc.*

taught vs. We beare it before vs in our pro-

16. *in Trul.
Damasc.*

cessions (as 5. S. Chrysostome) and vse it at

17. *4. c. 17.*

the halowing of the fount, as Victor witnes-

seth that 6. Eugenius did: We confess Mirac-

les to be wrought by it, as 7. S. Hierome

sheweth, and venim, and witchcraft to be

made void therewith (as 8. S. Athanasius) and

the Deuils to be put to flight thereby (as 9.

Laetantius) haue taught vs. We 10. reue-

rence and worship it, as they both did, and

taught vs to doe.

11. And

11. That surely, that which hath power to
doe those things which I haue rehersed, must
needes be a worshipfull signe , sith it hath
some of his vertue in it , *Who is God above all Rom. 9.*
things blessed for euer , the larchet of whose
shooe we ought to reuerence . So that we
neede not wonder, if S. Chrysostome said,
not only the Crosse it selfe whereon Christ
*died, but also *eius figuram & effigiem colendam**
adorandamque esse, even the figure and shape of
the Crosse ought to be worshiped & adored.

Orat. 1 de
ador. crux.
cis.

12. For the honour of this gloriouse signe
of Christes death, the Emperours Theodo-
sius and Valentinianus made a Law in these
wordes : *Cum sit nobis cura diligens per omnia*
superiori nominis religionem tueri: signum Salua-
toris Christi nemini licere vel in solo, vel in silice
vel in marmoribus humi positis insculpere, vel
pingere, sed quocunque reperitur tolli, grauissi-
ma pena multandis, si qui contrarium statutis no-
stris tentauerint, specialiter imperamus. Wher-
as we take diligent care to defend in al points
the Religiō of God, we specially commaund,
that it shalbe lawfull for no man to graue or
to paine the Signe of our Sauiour Christ in
the ground, or in flint, or in marble stones In the
lying on the ground, but wheresoeuer it is ground.
found, we commaund it to be taken vp, vn-
der a most greeuous forfeitte to be paid of
them, if any shall attempt the things which is

Cod. Iust.
Tit. 11. li.
vnica.
Humi po-
sitis.

CON-

13. Euen the same thinge S. Ambrose said
De obitu by Helena, metuebat calcare Sacramentum sa-
Theodosii Iuris, she feared to tread vpon the holy Signe
 of Saluation. Was not this a kind of honou-
 ring the holy signe of the Crosse, when for
 the honour thereof it is forbidden to be gra-
 uen vpon the ground, least it should be disho-
 noured, if it were troden vpon? This law
 being writen so long past, and preferuued so
 notably these eleuen hundred yeeres in the
 body of the ciuile Constitutions, M. Jewel
 could not see: but he went to one Peter Cri-
 nite, a man of very late yeeres, to learne of
 him this auncient law, as though he knew it
 better then Iustinian. And when he had scra-
 ped out an obscure apparence therof, he en-
 glished it falsely, as I will shew hereafter.

14. But seing neither Helena, nor the
 Emperours, wold haue bene afraide to haue
 troden vpon two strawes, or two rusches, or
 two stickes lying by chance a Crosse, what is
 the matter, why they will not haue a painted
 or grauen Crosse troden vpon? Surely be-
 cause there is not only a natural or a casuall
 crossing of bars therein, but there is also a
 holy Image troden vpon, that is to say, such
 a thing is troden vpon, as was made of the
 Christians purposely with this faith and loue
 toward Christ, to haue his death honorably

rememb-

remembred: so that when such a Crosse is troden vpon, the Faith of Christians, yea the Death of Christ is troden vnder feete. But what neede we proue that the Signe of the Crosse, was in old time honoured? M. Iewel himselfe confesseth it, saying.

Iewel. The Signe of the Crosse, I graunt, among the Christians, was had in great regard (and after) for that most worthy price which was offered vpon it.

15. *Sander.* Is not this all one, as if in other wordes he said, the signe of the Crosse among the Christians was adored, worshipped and reuerenced? For if the great regard which was had of it, was had because the most worthy price of our redemption was offered vpon it, fithens a great regard had to a thinge for Gods sake, and in the respect of his Religion, is a kinde of worshipping: M. Iewel hath graunted to vs, that the Signe of the Crosse was honoured in old time. Or what difference is there, betweene having a great regard to a thing for Gods sake, and honouring the same?

16. If I esteeme my neighbour for Gods sake, surely therein I honour, and serue, or worship my neighbour, according as S. Paul saith, *by loue serue ye one the other.* Now it is well knownen, that euery seruant regardeth and honoureth his Master, and in him (if he

Gal. A
doe

doe it for Gods sake) he honoureth God much more, for whose sake he esteemeth and reuerenceth his Master.

17. For the end why euery thing is done, is more worth , and more to be respected, then that which is done. And therefore he that loueth his neighbour for Gods sake hath in one word fulfilled the Law , as S. Paule teacheth: because in such a loue of his neighbour , the loue of God is more principallie contained. Euen so it is in regarding the Signe of the Crosse for his sake , who died vpon it. For both the Signe is honoured, and much more the thing which is signified.

18. I know euery regard is not commonlie taken for a worshipping , but yet it is so in this kind, as, when a man regardeth mony so much, that he coueteth to haue more then he needeth , doth not S. Paule name him the worshipper of Idols? And yet he perhaps intendeth not purposely to set vp his gold before him, and to fall downe before it, and so to worship it.

19. But in that he regardeth it so much, as in deede minding to goe beggarly, to fare miserably , or to vle extorsion , and to lette his neighbours about him to die for hunger, rather then to spend his mony vpon himself, or his neighbour : this man doth in truth worship his mony, and worshippeth it when he

he shoulde not do so, although himselfe neither say, nor thincke so much.

20. Right so, if M. Iewel were assured, that he had a peece of Christes owne Crosse, and were of the minde to keepe it so safely, and to regard it so entirely, that he would preferre it before common wood, yea before all gold and siluer for his sake, who died vpon it (which to doe is no vnlawfull thing, but good and vertuouse) euen that regard of his, shoulde be a worshipping and honouring of it, though he did neither kisse it, nor lie downe prostrate before it. For it is the mind, much more then the body, which determineth and causeth worshipping or honouring: In so much that if the minde should take that peece of wood to be God, the man shoulde be straight an Idolatour. If againe he shoulde take it for no better then a common peece of wood, he shoulde be blasphemous against the death of Christ.

Notes

21. For if Christ vouchsafed to segregate and discerne it from other wood, in making it alone of all woods the instrument of his passion, ought not I likwise to regard it therafter? If then the great regard of the signe of the Crosse being had for his sake, who died thereon, be a certaine worshipping of the Crosse: seeing the Signe of the Crosse is an Image, Master Iewel is forced by his owne

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words to confess the worshipping of Images. But here let him answere for himselfe.

Jewel. It is not hiterto any way proued, that this Crosse was an Image, or that it was set vp in any Church, or that it was adored of the people. Certainly the letter that Ezechiel saw in a vision: the Crosse that Constantine saw in the aier: the marks that were either stained with water, or burnt with fire in the laborers garments: the secret mystical letters in the Temple of Serapis: The cognisans of the Crosse painted, or gyauen in flags, banners, targets, and coynes, were only barres laid a Crosse, and no Images.

22. Sander. Who euer heard of such a blind ignorance? Are not those Crosses, or rather those Signes, which folow, imitate, betoken, and sette forth Christes owne Crosse, wheron he died, or els the same shape; wherin he hong with his armes spread abrode, are not such Signes, the Images of Christes Crosse? What call ye then an Image? I thought an Image had bene the likenes or similitude of the shape of one thing, which hath bene take out accordinge to the samplar of an other more principall thing, as I alleadged before out of S. Gregory Nazianzene.

Sib. 4.
Theolog.

23. If then the Crosses, whereof Master Jewel speaketh, were the similitude of Christes owne Crosse, which is the principal patterne of all our holy Signes, what meane they he

he to say, they be no Images? Let him then shew vs the definition of an Image: yea lette him tell vs. Whether that inward sense of man, which is called the Imagination, be not such, as either receaueth of the common sense Images already formed, or frameth Images to it selfe, by compounding those things together diuersly, which it learned before one by one.

24. For either I conceaue a Tree, as indeede the Tree is, and then the Image thereof is already extant before that I vnderstand it, or ells I adde to a tree the wings of a bird, the taile of a fish, and so forth, and then althoough my Image (as so compounded) be monstruouse, yet euery thing alone hath a truth, whereunto the partes may be referred.

25. To my purpose it sufficeth, that as the Imagination, is named of conceauing Images, so euery thing really extant, that may be imagined, or conceaued in the Imagination, may haue an Image thereof. Which thing I speake, least perhaps M. Jewel should think, that an Image must be alwaies meant, either of the shape of a man, or ells of a beast, or ells of some living thing. Wheras in deeude, seeing I may imagine a stone, it also may haue his Image. Why then shall not there be also an Image of the Crosse, sithens we may imagine a Signe of Christes Crosse?

All that
may haue
an Image
which
may be
imagined

26. Nay (saith M. Iewel) All such Crosses are barres laied a Croffe, and no Images. Good Syr : If barres laied a Crosse for the end to imitate the barres laied a Crosse, where Christ died, or the Crosse of his owne body, whereon his head stood vpward, his feete downward, and his armes stretched foorth in eche side: all Crosses, I say, that are made to represent that Crosse, are most truly Images, because they depend of an other principall truth, whose shape they expresse.

Iewel. Againe, the same Crosses were not set vp in any Temple.

27. Sander. Not these in deede, that were in the field, or in priuate houses : but others like to them were set vp in the Temples, as the storie of S. Stephens Image painted in a veile, and hanged vp before his owne Sepulcher with a Crosse vpon his shoulder, doth evidently witnesse: the which storie Euodius the Bishop of Vzal in Afrike, writing about S. Augustines time hath at large set foorth, as it may be seene in a booke of S. Augustines Sermons, printed at Louan, apud Hieronymum Wellaeum Anno Domini, 1564.

Iewel. The people were not taught to kneele downe to any Crosses, or to say, Al haile O Crosse our only hope.

28. Sander. It is a marueile if the people were not taught to doe that, which it is well knownen

Euodius
e mira-
ulis S.
tephani.

knownen they did, and they did it not only without reprehension of their preachers and Bishops, but also they should haue bene reproved, if they had refused to kneele downe, or to adore the Crosse.

29. Sozomenus speaking of S. Michaels Church in Constantinople, telleth this story. Histor. Probianus cum dudum Paganus esset. &c. Pro- tripl. li. cap. 19.
Probianus being sometimes a Pagan, but afterward made a Christian, did in some parte follow the doctrine of the Christians. But he would not adore the cause of all (our) health, that is to say, *the most holy Crosse*. He being of this minde, the Diuine power appeared vnto him, *and shewed to him the Signe of the Crosse, that was set on the Altar of S. Michaels Church.* And did manifestly declare, that from the time wherein Christ was crucified, all thinges which are done for the vtility of mankind, were not done by any meanes, neither by the holy Angels, nor by godly men without the vertue of the Crosse, *which ought to be adored.*

A signe
the Cro
se on th
Altar.

30. Here it is euident, that both there was a Signe of the Crosse set vpon the Altar of S. Michaels Church, and also that Probianus was accompted as yet no perfite Christian, for that he would not adore the most holy Crosse of Christ, but hauing adored the Signe of the Crosse vpon better instruction,

he was healed of his disease. It was therefore the vse of perfite Christians in those daies, to adore the Signe of the Crosse.

31. And whereas M. Iewel vpbraideth vs of these our wordes, *O Crux auespera unica.* All haile O Crosse our only hope, the which we sing kneeling on our knees on Passion sonday: it may please him to consider, that those very words do so conuince his blasphemous doctrine, that he shall neuer be able to auoid the Argument which is grounded vpon them.

The hymn-
le,

32. Those wordes are in one of the hymnes of that holy time, the which hymne beginneth thus: *Vexilla Regis prodeunt, fulget Crucis mysterium.* The banners of the King come forth, the mystery of the Crosse shineth, whereby he that made flesh, in flesh was hanged on the gibbet. And when the said Hymne had staied a certaine time vpon the contemplation of that dreadful Sacrifice of Christes death, at the length it crieth out, *All haile O Crosse our only hope,* meaning doutlesse thus, *O Christ stretched out upon the Crosse, thou art our only hope.* For if the end of the Hymne shall agree with the beginning, and with the middle, it is Christ crucified, vpon whom the whole canticle is made.

33. And to make vs the better to thinck vpon that we singe, and to conceaue it more deuoutly,

deuoutly, we are appointed at the singing of those wordes to kneele, and to turne our selues toward the Altar, to the end, we fastening our eye vpon the Signe of the Crosse, might print in our hart a more liuely representation of that precious death of Christ.

34. I pray you, M. Jewel, did not S. Paule vse the same selfe phrase, when he said, *Absit mibi gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi?* God forbid that I should glorie, but Gal. 6. only in the Crosse of our Lord Iesu Christ? Is it not all one to say, I glory in nothing els but in the Crosse, or, the Crosse is my only hope? *For we glory in the hope of the glory of God,* as also S. Paule affirmeth. If then the meaning be good, and the like phrase be in S. Paule, what a cancred malice is this, to set forth those words in contempt, which are so deuoutly meant of all good Christians? Rom. 5:

35. But to come neere to the principall point, if this hymne were made, *before the six hundred yeeres were ended,* are not the same verrie wordes, and the custome of Gods people in kneeling downe before the Signe of the Crosse, while they sing or speake them, a sufficient witnesse, to proue that M. Jewel ought to subscribe? It may be well thought, that seing this Hymne doth concerne the holy time of Lent, *and of Christes passion,* and seing it is receaued, not only in England, but also

in Italie, Fraunce, Spaine and in other like Countries, that it is one of those auncient hymnes, which were made in the old time.

The writers of it
witnes.

36. Of the which, as there were diuerse authours, to wit, S. Hilarie, S. Ambrose, Fortunatus, Sedulius, Prudentius, and S. Gregorie: so who soeuer of them made this Hymne, he was within the first six hundred yeeres: and consequently these wordes were taught to be song and said toward the Signe of the Crosse (in respect of Christ crucified) by the people kneeling, and saying, *All haile O Crosse, thou art our only hope.* What hath M. Iewel won now by his scoffing at these wordes?

37. Moreouer, seing M. Iewel confesseth, that the signe of Christes Crosse, was had in great regard among the Auncient Fathers, and that for Christes sake, is it not all one, to regard the said Crosse greatly (as he before confessed the Fathers to doe for Christs sake) or els, for Christes sake to kneele doun unto the Crosse, or to say, *Haile o Crosse* (that is to say, Christ crucified) *our only hope?* And yet S. Chryostome saith also: *Hodiernus dies pretiosa Crucis venerationi constitutus est.* This daie is assignd, for the worshippinge of the preciouse Crosse. And againe: *Admodum beatissimi, qui castis labijs sanctoque ore eam re amplexentur exunes.* They are verie happie, who come out

*Hom. de
idorat
Crucis.*

out of their dores to embrace, or kisse this Crosse, with chaste lyppes, and with a holy mouth.

38. The which wordes albeit they were spoken of the holy wood of Christes Crosse, whereof Chrysostome did sette forth some parcell to be kissed and embrased, yet seeing I proued before out of S. Ambrose, that the wood (as materiall wood) was not to be adored, but only as an Image or representation of Christ crucified, the same Example doth also proue, that Images may be kissed with chaste lyppes, and with a holy mouth. De obitu Theodosij

39. But my intent is not to speake at large of the Crosse, whereof whole bookees and Treatisees be written, by M. Cope, and M. Marshal. It suffiseth me to note, first, that a great regard of the signe of the Crosse had of the Auncient Fathers (which M. Iewel confesseth, not knowing the sequelle thereof) doth proue, that they worshipped the saied signe. Againe, that the signes of the holy Crosse of Christ are verely Images, and therefore that when they were set vp in Churches, and worshipped, Images are proued to haue bene sette vp and worshipped. Note;

That

That other holy Images both might be adored profitably, and without Iewish bondage by S. Augustines owne doctrine, and also were adored within the first six hundre yeeres after Christ. With a defense of S. Chrysostomes Liturgie against M. Iewel.

THE XIV. CHAPTER.

*De doct.
Christ. lib.
3. cap. 9.*

1. **T**He generall doctrine of S. Augustine concerning Signes which belong to Religion, may be well applied to this our purpose. Thus he writeth : *Qui aut operatur, aut veneratur utile signum &c.* He that either worketh, or worshippeth, a profitable Signe instituted by Gods Authoritie, the strength and signification whereof he vnderstandeth, he worshippeth not that which is seene and passeth away, but that thing rather, wherunto all such thinges are to be referred.

2. Images are profitable signes, because they bring vs to the remembrance of good things. They are also instituted by Gods authority, because he willed them to be made according to the imitation of nature, and of Nations, and namely he instituted Images in the Law of Moyses, and lefft the tradition to his Church freely to make Images of good things, which thing the Church practised so

com-

commonly, that beside the examples alleaged before out of a Eusebius, we reade that in S. Augustin, as well of the Ethnicks as of the Christians: *Pluribus locis simul Petrum & Paulum cum Christo pictos viderunt &c.* They sawe in very many places Peter and Paule painted together with Christ, because Rome doth set foorth the merits of Peter and Paule the more famously and solemnly, euen for that they suffered both vpon one daie.

3. Vpon which three Images so commonly scene, the Heathens grounded this errore, that Christ wrote certaine booke, dedicating or intituling them to Peter and Paule. But although the sight of Images did them no good, as being Infidels, to whom the Gospell it selfe did no good: yet by this example it appeereth, that before the daies of S. Augustin, Images were commonly vsed in Rome, and in other places.

4. S. Gregorie of Nyssa sheweth the like custome to haue beeene vsed in the Greeke Church, confessing expreflie, that the Painter De Theod *With the Flowers of his art, as it were in a booke,* Ma laude did sette foorth in the Church of Theodorus the Martyr his valiaunt deedes, his tormentes, and his gloriouse victorie and conquest by sufferinge death.

5. Of the Images in the Church wals of S. Felix his Temple, whoknoweth not, that hath

*De conf.
Euangel.
li. i. c. 10,*

*Images.
in Chur-
ches.*

Natal, 10. hath readen S. Paulinus workes? Gregorius
Hist. li. 7. Turonensis also speaketh of the paintings of
the wals, in S. Martins Church at Tours in
France.

6. If now it be certain, that Images were
made without all scruple in the Primitiu
Church, if they were commonly set vp, both
in Churches, and without Churches, I take
it for an euident proufe, that Images are Sig
nes instituted, *divinitus*, that is to say, *by the
will and pleasure of God*. Whether that his
wil were commended to vs by the law of na
ture, and of Nations, or els whether the A
postles and Fathers made this Reason for it,
that if in the time of bondage, yet some Im
ages were permitted to the Iewes, who were
so proane to Idolatrie, much more Christes
people deliuered from Idolatrie, and from
the feare of Idolatrie, may according to the
freedome of the new Testament, make all
good and profitable Images: or els whether
it were by speciaill wordes of Christes owne
mouth, or by special inspiration of the holy
Ghost reuealed to the Apostles: once it is
cleer, that Images are a kind of Signes, which
bring great profitte to vs. And that the same
kind of Signes, were instituted by Gods will
and pleasure.

7. Wherupon it followeth by S. Augu
stins doctrine, *That who so worshippeth such a
signe,*

Signes, Worshippeth not anie transitorie thing, but
be Worshippeth rather that thing wherunto those
signes are to be referred. He therfore that wor-
shippeth S. Peters Image, worshippeth S.
Peter him selfe, rather then his Image. And
likewise in S. Peter he worshippeth Christ,
rather then S.Peter. And in Christ rather then
the Godhead, then the manhood.

8. By the force of which doctrine, we
may well perceave, that there is no danger
in worshipping Images, if we vnderstand
them to be Images, as all men do now (God
be praised) and haue alwaies done after that
Christ appeared in flesh.

9. Before whose comming, there were in
the world (as S. Augustin in the same place
declareth) two kindes of men, of the which
eche one worshipped Signes: The Gentils
worshipped them, not knowing them to be
signes, nor vsing them as signes, but they
gave the honor due to God vnto the signes,
and vnto the Images made with mans hand,
in so much that they either made no inter-
pretation of their Signes, or if at any time
they did endeavour to expound them, *ad crea-
turam colendum, venerandumque referebant*, they
referred them to the end a creature might be
worshipped and reuerenced.

Li. 3 c. 5.
de doct.
Christ.

The Sig-
nes of the
Genulis.

10. On the other side, the Iewes worship-
ped signes, not knowing commonly what
they

The Signes of the
Iewes.
Heb. 9.

they meant, for they worshipped the holie of lies, not knowing it to signify heauen. But yet knowing they were signes, and referring them to the worshippe of one God. Which later kinde of worshipping is not vnprofitable, although it be not free and throughly spiritual.

Galat. 5.

11. But the former kind of Signes is very hurtfull. And verely both are a certaine bondage. For he is bond to the Signe, either who taketh it for the thinge it selfe, or els worshippeth it as a Signe, and yet knoweth not what it signifieth. But we that are made free in Christ, both know our Signes and Images to be Images and signes (which also the Iewes did) and we knowe moreouer, whereof they are the Signes (which thing the Iewes did not know) and we refer the worship of them, not finally to any creature (as the Gentils did) but vnto one God, by Iesus Christ our Lord. Therefore our worshipping of Signes is not only profitable, as that of the Iewes was, but also spirituall and free from all bondage.

12. The Signes of the Gentils were taken away and cleane destroyed, because they ended in the onely honour of Creatures and not of God. The Signes of the Iewes were not vtterly dissolued and abolished, but rather altered and changed. We then must haue

Signes

Signes also : and not only new Sacraments for olde, as Baptisme for Circumcision, Christes Supper for the Paschal Lambe , which most holy Signes are directly instituted by Christ , but we must haue also certayne Signes made with faithfull mens hands, as they had signes made with mens hands. We must haue Altars, Vestments, Chalices , lightes, and Images, as well as they had all those thin-
ges . And so long as we knowe what they meane, we may worship them both profitably and without any bondage.

Math. 24.
& 28.

13. The Iewes beinge cleerly vnable , to Num. 21
coniecture what the lifting vp of the brasen Serpent signified , left the worshipping of a profitable signe, and worshipped vnprofita- 4. Reg. 12
bly the brasse it selfe. But we worship neither wood, nor brasse , but principally the truth which is meant by our Images , and conse-
quently the Images as holy thinges belong-
ing to the truth. For now Christ prouided our signes to be so well knownen , and to be so common, that no man is able to be igno-
rant of them, though he would in maner af-
fect ignorance.

14. The conclusion is, that S. Augustine confesseth we may worship signes instituted by Gods appointment. But Images are insti-
tuted by the law of nations (for the aites of Painting and of grauing are laudable) by the law

law of Moyses, and by the Vniuersal custome
of Gods Church, euery of which is the ap-
pointment of God: therefore Images may be
profitably and freely worshipped.

15. And that in practise it was so done
within the first six hundred yeeres, *S. Chry-
sostome, Paulinus, and S. Gregorie doe witnessesse,
in Liturg. In S. Chrysostomes Liturgie* (which contei-
neth the Seruice of the Greeke Church for
the publike Sacrifice) we read, *that the Priest
Went forth at the litle dore (of the quier) ca-
rying the Gospel, and the Minister going before
With light. Et conuersus ad Christi Imaginem,
inter duo ostia, inflexo capite dicit hanc oratio-
nem.* And the Priest being turned towardes
the Image of Christ betweene the two dores,
bawing bowed his head, saith this prayer: and
there the prayer followeth. Could the Priest
haue turned him selfe toward the Image of
Christ betweene the two dores, except Christ-
es Image had stood betweene the two dores?
Or when he bowed his head before the
Image, did he not then reuerence the said
Image? Herunto M. Jewel answereth.

Bowing
to the I-
mage of
Christ.

In his
Replie
fol. , 04.

Jewel. *In the communion booke that beareth
the name of Chrysostome, there is mention made
of Nicolas B. of Rome, who liued wel neere, fift
hundred yeeres after Chrysostome.*

16. Sander. This fable M. Jewel bringeth
in, to discredit the witnessesse of S. Chryso-
stome,

Rome, willing his Reader to perswade him-selfe, that it is not S. Chrysostoms owne Liturgie. But what thing can be knownen to be his, if that which beareth his name, which is witnessed to be his by other Grecians who
who haue written since that time, as Pro-
clus, Cabasilas, Methonensis and M. Ephes-
sius, who all make mention thereof? to be
short, if that which is not only copied out,
kept and readen, but also song enery holy
day in the Greeke Church, if that worke shal
be denied to be S. Chrysostomes, then let vs
denie the Psalme. *Quicunque vult*, to be made
by S. Athanasius, or *Te Deum laudamus*, to be
made by S. Ambrose, and S. Augustine.

In Litur-
gicis.

17. If all the East Church suffise not to
make faith for S. Chrysostomes Liturgie,
what witnesses shall be credited hereafter?

18. Concerning M. Jewels reason, it is a
meere canil. For whereas in all publike Ser-
vice and formes of Oathes, there are certaine
common places which must be leaft void for
names accordinge to the persons and times
(as the name of the Saint whose feast is kept,
the name of the Bishop who then liueth, and
and of the Emperour that then reigneth, or
of him that speaketh or sweareth) that place
and part is subiect to change as the occasion
serueth: and therfore commonly no name of
them is expressed. Howbeit now it so chaunc-



ced,

ced, that the Greeke copie, out of which Leo Tuscus translated S. Chrysostomes Liturgie not long after the time of Alexius, was such as had bene vsed in the time of Alexius the Emperour, and therefore his name was written in the said booke, and likewise the name of Nicolaus, who was at the same time Patriarke of Constantinople, and not Bishop of Rome, as M. Iewel reporteth.

19. The wordes are these. *Nicolai Sanctissimi & Vniuersalis Papa longa sint tempora, E-leutherij Alexandriæ, Cyrilli Antiochia, Leontij Hierosolymorum longa sint tempora.* In which words the Priest standing at the Altar, prayeth for Nicolas the most holy and vniuersall Pope, and for the other three Patriarches of Alexandria, Antiochia, and Ierusalem. This most holy and vniuersal Pope was not meant the Pope of Rome, as M. Iewell saith, for the Pope of Rome never yet would take that title of vniuersal Bishop, as it may appeere by Leo the first, and by S. Gregorie, but reproached alwaies the Patriarches of Constantinople, for usurping the same proud and false name of Vniuersall, the which importeth, as though there were but one Bishop or Patriarch in all, and that all the rest should be Bishops. Neither is it like, that any man is prayed for by that title which him selfe misliketh.

20. More-

20. Moreouer in the time of Alexius, and before the Sea of Constantinople was so diuided from the See of Rome (concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghost) that the Pope of Rome was not prayed for ordinary at Constantinople.

21. Adde herunto, that there is no Bishop of Constantinople praied for at all, if the said Nicolas be not the Bishop thereof. For the name of Pope was geuen in the old time to euery Bishop, being no more to say but, Father.

22. Verely there was no Pope Nicolas at Rome in the time of Alexius.

23. Moreouer the common Greeke copies haue not those names of Nicolas, or of Alexius: no nor all the Latin Copies, as it may appeere by the translation of Erasmus.

24. What shall I say that *Claudius de Saintes*, by conferring diuerse places taken out of S. Chrysostoms owne workes, hath euidently proued, the said Liturgie to be his.

25. Last of all, Zonaras writing the life of the Emperour Alexius, hath thele words: *Patriarcha vero Nicolaus, &c.* Nicolas the Patriarch hauing ruled the Church seuen and twentie yeeres, died a very olde man, whose corps the Emperour did honourably burie. There was no Pope of Rome that euer lived in his Bishoprike seuen and twenty yeeres,

nor yet ffeue and twentie (S. Peter onely excepted) nor Alexius did not come to burie any Pope at Rome.

26. This being so, is not M. Jewel a discrete reprouer of S. Chrysostomes Liturgie? But if it stande safe, then is there an Image proued to haue beene bowed vnto, in the Church in S. Chrysostomes time, euен by that translation which Erasmus made. But lette vs goe forward to other examples.

27. One Seuerus a man of notable vertue and learning, did build two Churches and a Baptisterie, which was a Chappel wherein a great Font stood to Baptise men in. Within that Baptisterie, Seuerus painted the Images of S. Martin, and of S. Paulinus Bishoppe of Nola, to this end, that those who were Baptized, should by those Images haue so excellent men, as the one had beene, and as the other yet was, before their eyes, to follow their vertues and good life.

28. Of S. Martins Image thus writeth S. Paulinus in his twelueth epistle. *Recte in loco refectionis humanae Martinus pingitur, &c.* Martin is well painted in the place of mans regeneration. Who caried the Image of the celestial man by the perfect following of Christ, that the shape of a heauenly soule may come to their mind to be followed, who laid downe in Baptisme their earthly Image.

Paulinus
Seuero.
Epist. 12.

29. And

29. And least any man should thinke, that the said Image was there to be only seene or looked on, but otherwise might not be reverenced: the same Paulinus in the same Epistle speaketh of the same Image in this wise. *Martinum veneranda visi testatur Imago.* The reverend Image of the man doth witnesse or shew forth Martin. *Veneranda Imago,* is an Imageworthy of reverence, of which ought to be reverenced.

30. It was alleaged before out of S. Gregorie, that he said, *We lie prostrate, or fall doun, before the Image, not as before the God Lib. 7. head, but we remember him that was borne Epist. 53. or died for vs. Wherby it may appeere, how falsely M. Iewel saith.*

Iewel. As for Gregorie, notwithstanding he speake exprestly of Images, yet he speakest not one word of the adoration of Images.

31. Sander. He saith, *Non quasi ante Divinitatem, ante illam (Imaginem) prosternimus.* We lie prostrate before that (Image) not as before the Godhead. Is not lying flat doun before an Image, one worde spoken of adoration of Images? Yea rather it is cleere, that it was the vse in S. Gregories time, to lie prostrate, or to fall doun before holy Images, but not with the minde that they were Gods, but with the mind that they making vs remember God, and that as thinges insti-

tuted and specially assigned to that purpose, were also worthy of honor and of falling downe before them, for his sake, whom they represented.

32. But because it were too long to prosecute particular Examples one by one (of which sort many are set forth in the Seuenth General Council) let vs generally defend the adoration of Images , according to the Seuenth Generall Council , to the end those examples and authorities , which are well and truly alleaged there for this purpose, may at once be defended, against M. Jewels barking and railing.

That the Seuenth Generall Councell was a true Councel, and ought to be obeyed, and Master Jewels slaunderes be answered concerning the same . Where also it is briefly shewed , that Miracles might, and haue bene wrought by holie Images.

THE XV. CHAPTER.

Because the Protestants haue refused the common and ordinarie iudgement of certaine General Councils , I haue hitherto proued the honouring of Images by other meanes. But now I maie not omitte to shewe also , that they doe vniustlie take vpon

pon them, to condemne that graue Senate of three hundred and fiftie Bisshoppes gathered together at Nice.

Iewel. This second Councell of Nice was holden neere eight hundred yeeres after Christ.

2. Sander. Then it was holden aboue seuen hundred yeares before you, or your Congregation were borne. If that then must not be credited, because it was yonger then the first sixe hundred yeeres after Christ, will you be credited, which write almost sixteen hundred yeeres after Christ? If this Councel lacke Antiquitie, as being kept two hundred yeeres after the first six hundred yeeres: doe not al your miserable conuenticles kept now in these our daies lacke Antiquitie, which are almost a thousand yeeres behind the first six hundred? It is an Extreme blindnes, to thinke that eight hundred yeeres are late, and that fifteene hundred after Christ are Auncient.

Iewel. To open the whole follie and fondnesse of that Councel, it would require a long treatise.

3. Sander. Who is more like to a be foole and fond? M. Iewel, or three hundred and fiftie Bisshoppes gathered out of all Christendome, as the most excellent that then liued for wit, vertue, and learning?

Iewel. Irene the Empresse a wicked woman, &c.

4. Sander. Nicephorus telling the argu-

ment of his twentith Tome, saith, it shall comprehend, *Res gestas p̄ū imperij Constantini & Irena*. The Actes of the Godlie Empire of Constantinus and of Irene. Naulerus saith she was borne to gouerne. Zonaras confesseth her to haue bene ambitione. But that which purgeth all, she her selfe confessed her selfe to haue bene worthelie punished for her sinnes, and so by fleeing to God for mercie, she is at the least now made a good woman. And verely her zeale toward holy Images did make her the better.

Iewel. The Kinges daughter of Tartarie, a Heathen borne.

5. *Sander.* A weightie cause surelie, why the Seuenth Generall Councell should be discredited. As though Conitantinus the Great, who called the first Generall Councell, was not a heathen borne. The Obiection were somewhat worth, if any man were borne a Christian. Tertullian saith, *Fuimus, non nascuntur Christiani:* Christians be made, and not borne.

Apolo.

6. I am sure Irene was Christened before she procured the Councell. And yet I dout, whether M. Iewel thincke somuch of *Constantinus Magnus*. For perhaps he doth credit Eusebius in that behalfe, and so taking the power of Authorizing that Councell from Silvester the Pope of Rome, he maketh the

first

first Councell to be called, and confirmed, and Authorized by one that was not Baptized. Thinke vpon it, M. Iewel, what you will choose to saie.

Iewel. She caused that Councell to be summo-
ned in despite of the Council of Constantinople,
that had decreed against Images.

7. Sander. Zonaras telleth, that she and
the Patriarch Tarasius, sent to Adrianus the
Pope of Rome, desiring him and the other
Patriarches, to be at the Councell. So that
it was not her onlie Authoritie that ruled the
matter.

In vita
Constant.
& Iren.

8. But in that you speake of a Councell
gathered at Constantinople, by like then there
was a Coucell gathered there. But by whom?
I aske you not by what Pope (for that you
can not abide) but by what Emperour was
it gathered? What Patriarches came to it?
What number of Bishoppes was there as-
sembled? Where be the Actes and Canons of
it? Which I speake not, as though I thought,
there was none at all, but to shew that it
was an obscure, and a seditiouse conspiracy
of a few Heretikes, not receaued at any time
for a Generall Councell, nor at all confessed
by the cheefe Patriarches, nor Authorized
by the Bishoppes of Rome. Neither doth
anie Greeke or Latine writer of that Age, or
nigh about that time, accōpt it for any other

It was
called
Pseudosy-
then

nodus.
A false
council.

250 . Of Images, and .

then a false and impious conuenticle.

9. Nicephorus, Photius, Eutymius, Zonaras, Pselmus, Balsamon, Siegeberus, Platina, Nauclerus, yea all the Grecians which mette at Florence, and all the Latine writers and Fathers acknowlege none other Generall Councell (after the Sixthe vnder Pope Agatho) beside that Seuenth Councell, which was sollicited by Irene and Constantinus.

Zonaras
in vita
Constan-
& Irene.

10. But the occasion of calling it, was Paulus the Patriarch of Constantinople, who perceaving Constantinople to be diuided from all the rest of the Catholike Church (for that the holy Images were there pulled dounne and dishonoured) he refused to Governe anie more, and went into a Monastery to doe penance for himselfe and his people. And Tarasius being chosen Patriarch after Paulus, refused it likewise, except a Generall Councell might be called, whereby the Church of Constantinople might be vnited to the rest of Christendome. Vpon this occasion Irene moued with his Request, sent to Pope Adrian and to the other Patriarches, desiringe them to assemble together, which they did.

Iewel. She tooke her owne sonne Constantinus, and pulled out his eyes.

11. Sander. Is the Councell naught therefore?

fore? As though the Princes euill deede, were able to make the Doctrine of the Church naught.

Iewel. She did it onely, because he would not consent to the Idolatrous hauing of Images.

12. *Sander.* That is not true. Except perhaps you will make vs new histories, as well as you geue vs a new faith. Did not he first repell his owne mother from the gouernement? Who, I pray you was elder of the sonne, or of the mother? Who should succeede rather in the Empire, if the matter went by succession? Or who was more bound to the other? He to his Mother, or shee to him? Reade you (M. Iewel) that the Mother should honour her Child, or that the Child should honor his Mother? Which thing because Constantinus did not, but rather deposed her, he died in prison, and that worthely as Platina saith, *Tanquam sacrilegus, In vita minimeque pietatis, quippe qui matrem relegaverat*, as being a despiter of holines, and void of deuotion, as who bannished his owne mother.

Exod. 20.

13. Zonaras also and Nauclerus tell, that he did shut vp in a Monastery Marie his wife against her will, and married and crouned queene Theodora her hādmaiden. This was the way to make him to hate holy Images. *In vita Foras Zonaras telleth, he adored Images in Constan-*
the

the beginning: but after that the mind is embred with euill deedes and wicked thoughtes, it is a greefe to the eye, to see afterward any good remembrance. Every Saincts Image is a condemnation to him that is euill.

Iewel. The bishops and doctours of that Counsell, manifestly corrupted the Scriptures.

14. *Sander.* A great fault and if it be proued: and being not proued, it is a great deadlie sinne for you to say it. And for my parte I haue shewed before, that the Scriptures were well applied by the Bishoppes, and that you doe vniustly reprove them.

Iewel. They falsified the holy Fathers without shame.

15. *Sander.* Let vs thinke, whether it be more credible, that three hundred and fiftie did so, or that you belie them.

Iewel. They said, Imago melior est quam oratio. An Image is better then a prayer.

16. *Sander.* Here are but fwe Latine wordes, and yet three faultes are found in Master Jewel, in citing them. First they were not many who said it, but only one. And yet M. Jewel writeth, that (*they said*). Next it is not witten, *melior est Imago*, an Image is better, but, *Maior est Imago*. An Image is greater. Some things are greater then other, which yet are not better. Last of all *Oratio*, doth signifie an oration in that place, & not a prayer,

as M. Iewel hath translatel it. For it followeth immediatlie, *Atque hoc prouidentia Dei contigit, propter idioras homines.* And this thing hath come to passe by the prouidence of God, for the simple mens sake, who can not read or vnderstand a learned oration.

17. So that the Father who spake these wordes, meant that the liuely setting forth of the storie of Euphemia the Martyr (wher-of they spake) was greater to moue affections in the ignorant people, then either a learned oration made with the tong, or written in booke. And according to the same sente it is said by an other afterward. *Compunctionem sacra Imagines excitarunt in Sanctis viris.* Holie Images haue stirred vp a compunction or a vehement affection of the hart in holy men. But if *Oratio* did signify twenty thinges, M. Iewel comming like a spider to euery flower in the garden would picke nothing but Poiſon out of it. Is *Oratio* a praier, euery where? Then Cicero was a very deuout man, for he made and wrote many and long orations. But if in examininge fwe wordes, there are found three faultes, what would come to passe, if I shoulde aunſwere the whole Article of M. Iewel?

Iewel. And againe, Who ſo ever will not adore the Godlie Images, accursed be he. Action. 2

18; *Sunder,* You haue pronounced their ſen-

Concl.
Nice. 2.
Action. 4.

sentence against your selfe. They said: Accur-
sed be he, whosoeuer will not adore the Dsuine
Images. That is to say, Images belonging to
God, or to his Friendes: but you being mee-
ter to be a Iester, then a Bishop, thought to
make a little sporte, by calling them godly
Images. And as they said it, so they might
say it, for that Christ said to their Predeces-
sours, and thereby to them. *Whatsoeuer thin-
ges you bind in earth, they shall be bound in hea-
uen.* They haue bound them that refuse to
adore holy Images, let them that are giltie
of that euill opinion, looke who will loose
them at the day of iudgement.

Math. 18.

In his
Replie
fol. 508.

19. Beside this, M. Jewel in diuerte other
places, reproueth the same Councel as Chil-
dish, and at his pleasure reciteth their words,
not in deede at large, & as they were spoken,
but defacing them after his maner. To all
which his vngodly doing, I make this ans-
were.

20. First, there is no impietie or falsehood
approued or decreed in that Councell.

21. Secondly, whereas euery Father one by
one, spake his mind, it must not be thought,
that euery worde there vttered, is the deter-
mination of the whole Council: no more
then euery Burgesse voice or suffrage, is the
Acte of Parliament.

22. Thirdlie, the Scriptures which they
bring,

bring, are better applied for the honouring of Images (as I haue in part shewed before) then they are hitherto impugned by M. Jewel. For he bringeth nothinge but his Bishoplie scoffes against them.

23. Fourthly, the miracles there told, as thinges that were wrought by God in the Images of his Saintes, are such, as be not against Faith. And therfore they ought to be credited of charitable men, rather then to be laughed at. And forasmuch as I haue hitherto laid nothing of the Miracles, which may be wrought by Saints Images, it shall not be amisse to speake a litle of that matter.

24. The Apostles wrought so great miracles in Ierusalem, and the people so magnified and honoured them, that they caried sick and weake men into the streates, puttinge them in couches and beds. *Vt veniente Petro, saltem umbra illius obumbraret quenquam illocum.* To the end when Peter should come, at the least his shadow might ouershadow some of them. Here the very shadow of S. Peter is accompted of vertue and power to heale men, and consequently it is honoured. For wheras the ground of al honor consisteth in the minde, surely the minde looketh for aide aboue nature and by miracle of none other thing, then of that which it iudgeth to be of more worthinesse then it selfe, or then any

Autorū s.

Note.

any other ordinarie meane of healing is.

25. If then we honor the Phisition, when
Eccles. 38. we esteeming his knowlege, looke for ordinary helpe at his hande: much more they honoured S. Peters shadowe, who looked for miraculouse helpe by approching thereunto. And yet what thing is that shadow of his, but the comming of his body betweene the Sunne, and those whom he ouershadowed?

The sha-
dow.

26. If then the shadow which is so, as it were by chance, occasioned, yet because it was his shadow, was able to helpe them, who in the faith of Christ (whose Apostle S. Peter was) laid them selues in the way as he should passe: being the Image of S. Peter is also a thing occasioned not only by chaunce, but by speciall deuotion of them who for their affection to him, and much more to his maister, caused it to be made: why may not it also heale them, who in the faith of Christ (whose Apostle Saint Peter is) come to the Church, to haue the only Image of S. Peter before their eyes? For as being at home, if they only pray to S. Peter in this belief that he now being with Christ is able, as well as other Saintes are, to obteine aide for them, they may, and many times haue bene healed by the vertue which God hath graunted to his Apostle S. Peter: so, much more if with the same faithfull deuotion a man come to Church,

Note.

Hieronym
aduersus
Vigilant.

Church, and there set him selfe downe, or kneele before S. Peters Image, intending for the better directing of his minde to S. Peter, to haue his Image before his eyes, and so to joyne the inward vnderstanding and the outward sense together: Much more this man were like to obtein his desire through Christ, because he sought the moe meanes to geue strength vnto his prayer.

27. What say we then? Doth S. Peters Image heale diseases? How say you, Malter Jewel, doth S. Peters shadow heale diseases? Doth S. Paules girdle or napkin, *heale diseases*, *Actor. 19.* and cast out Deuilles? Doth Elizeus stafte raile vp the dead? At the least the Prophet thought it would haue done so, and by like it had *4. Reg. cap. 4.* done so, if some other vnuknownen dispensation of God, had not stayed it.

28. I priae you, did not the Herbe, which grewe at the feete of Chrites Image, take that vertue to heale diseases, when it came to touche the hem of the cote of the Image? It was therfore the Image which gaue that vertue of healing to the Herbe. When I say, the Image gaue that vertue, I meane, that Christ by the Image gaue it.

29. There is so much honour due to Chrites visible appearing on the earth, that not only he in his flesh doth worke what him pleaseth: but he also in his Sacraments, he

in his word being preached , he in his Apo-
stles and Seruantes, he in their Napkins, he
in their Images , he in their shadowes wor-
keth Miracles, according to our Faith, and
his pleasure.

30. And as that most heauenly instrument
of Gods grace toward vs (I meane the flesh of
Christ) being highest ioyned to the Godhead,
is worthy of the highest Honour of all: So
all other thinges are worthy of more or lesse
Honour , but all are worthie of some Ho-
nour, which soeuer are made the instruments
of Gods grace toward vs.

31. What meaneth then M. Iewel, to call
the Miracles, reported in the Seuenth Gene-
rall Councell, to be done by Images , *Idola-*
trous Fables? Is not that to call Eusebius, the
writer of the Tripartite Historie , Nicepho-
rus, Theophilactus Idolatours? For they be-
lieued the Miracle, which was wrought by
Christes Image in Paneade a Citie of Phen-
icia. And is Gods hand bound from that daie
forward, that it may neuer worke any other
Miracle by holie Images?

32. Hitherto I haue answered generally
to M. Jewels generall obiections, concerning
the Seuenth Councell: but now I will bring
a most euident reason, why euery man ought
to beleue, and to obey the same seuenth gene-
rall Councell kept at Nicea , vnder paine
of

Vol. 508.
Tripart.
lib. 6.

Cap. 41.

of euerlasting damnation.

33. The state of the Question at that time was, *whether the Images of Christ, and of his Saints, might be vsed and honoured in the Churches, or no.* They that saied they might be vsed and honoured, maintained the vse of their Forefathers, and thereby were in possession. For it was impossible for Images to haue bene throwen downe (as being saied to be abused, and to be made Idols) if in deede they had not bene both vsed and honoured of the Christians.

Possessi

34. Those then that threw them doun, because they iudged them to be abused, went about (as they thought) to amend that abuse. But the other Christians iudged it no abuse at all, and therefore withstoode the Image breakers. Therfore (as I said at the first) it must needes be confessed, that those were in possession of honouring Images, who defended the honouring of them. Let that be well remembred.

35. Againe, the Image breakers being wel assured, that in all great controuerfies a Generall Councell is wont to be called, endeuoring to preuent and to preoccupate that name and Authoritie, came together so couertlie, that it is neither knownen who summoned them, nor what number was present, nor what order they vsed, nor who approued

A priu
council

n. 3. 36. It was then a thing done in the dark-
nessse, *which is the signe of an euill conscience.*
For he that doth euill, hateth the light. Yet be-
cause it bare the name of a conuenticle, the
Catholikes were desiroufe to haue a iust,
full, and perfitt Councell, and thereupon they
sollicited Irene the Empresse for the same
purpose.

37. She being perswaded to haue a Coun-
cell called, causeth Adrian the Bishope of
Rome and the other Patriarches, to be certi-
fied thereof: who all agreed vpon the time
and place. And when there were together
about three hundred and fiftie Bishops, be-
side many Abbats, and other learned men,
they decreed, as other Councils, and namely
the Sixt had geuen them a President, and
as the vniuersall practise of the Church was,
that holie Images ought to be adored.

38. This Councell was confirmed and re-
gistered for a knownen lawful Generall Coun-
cell throughout all Christendome. And hath
borne the name of the Seuenth Generall
Councell so generally, that Heretikes can
not doe otherwise, then so to call it, if they
will be vnderstode whereof they speake.

39. Now if this were a lawfull Generall
Councell, it ought to be obeyed and bele-
ued. If it were not lawfull, how shal we know
what

what is a lawfull Councell? Or what had cel is con-
ferred with the
the first Generall Councell being kept vnder
Constantinus the Great, which this Councel
had not? That was kept at Nice, so was this.

First.

1.

2.

Tripart.
lib. 4 c. 5

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

40. Whether that was summoned by a Pope of Rome (without whose Authoritie the old Decrees will no Councell to be auailable) or by an Emperour, whom the Protestants would haue to be cheefe in that kind, or by both: this also was summoned by Constantinus the Emperour, Irene the Empresse, and Authorized by Adrianus the Pope of Rome.

41. In the first there were three hundred and eightene Bishopes: here were more. There, the matter in controuersie was perfislie discussed, and so was it here: in so much that much more is now extant of this Disputation, then of that.

42. There, were the fourchee Patriarches, the same were here. There, sentence was geuen for that beliefe, vse, and custome, which the Church had obserued before: so was it done here. That decree was put in execution, so was this.

43. Against that Councell, the Heretickes made false Conuenticles, so did they against this. That preuailed in the end, so did this: in somuch that al the Churches in Christendom were againe filled with Images, and they were againe honoured vntill these our daies.

44. What is it then why the first Generall Councell was good, and the Seuenth being in all points like that, was not good? M. Jewel would say, that in the First Councell the word of God preuailed, and in the Second it was oppressed. But as the Arians would not confesse, that the worde of God preuailed in the First Councell: so they are Hereticques who affirme, that the word of God was oppressed in the Later Councell.

45. And I priae you, what a frantick madnes is this, for a priuate man to fitte iudge ouer a whole Generall Councell: Was it therefore gathered out of all the world, that priuate men might afterward control it? They that made that decree, said it was agreeable to Gods word, that holy Images should be honoured, and therein stood the cheefe controuersie. And shall it now be lawfull to say, that they iudged not well?

46. A iudge comming to fitte vpon a weightie matter, hath a solemne order prescribed to him by the law, the which he is bound to follow. If now he doe follow that order, shall his sentence be afterward reuoked, because he is said not to haue geuen sentence as the cheefe would haue wished? The seuenth Councel kept the same order in comming together, in examining matters, in making Canons, and in departing home, that which

Note.

which all other Generall Councels had kept.

47. Beside many other thinges, which this Seuenth Generall Councell hath common with all other Councels, it hath this singular Prerogatiue, that, none other Councell is knownen to haue had so many present in it, who recanted openly their former errore, as this Council had.

48. For whereas there had bene a false Synode that, *clam & latenter*, priuily and in Nicene corners before, in the which certaine Bishoppes had vpon their owne priuate and Schismatical opinion, decreed against holy Images, many of the same Bishops being afterward better instructed, went from that their errore, and in the Seuenth Councell were againe reconciled to the Church. As Basilius, ^{Cone. Nic.} 2. Act. 1. the Bishoppe of Ancyra, Theodorus, the Bishoppe of Myron, Theodosius, the B. of Amorium, Hypatius, the B. of Nice, Leo B. of Rhodes, Gregorie, B. of Pisidia, an other Gregorie, B. of Pessinuntum, an other Leo, B. of Iconium, Nicolas, B. of Hierapolis, and an other Leo, B. of Carpath, and Gregorius Bishoppe of Cesarea.

Con. Act.
1 fol. 465.
& 467.

49. All these recanted in that one Councell, confessing that they erred through ignorance, and that they were returned to the truth by the Doctrine of the Apostles, and of the Fathers.

50. Gregorius of Cesarea repenting after
the first Action was ended, in the second Ac-
tione said : *Quandoquidem vniuersus iste coetus*
fol. 479. *idem sentit, didici & instructus sum, quod hac sit*
veritas qua nunc existimatur & predicatur. For
so much as this whole companie, doe both
speak and iudge one & the same thing, I haue
learned and am instructed, that this which is
now thought and vttered, is the truth.

51. If so many noble and reuerend Bishop-
pes were not ashamed to be instructed better,
and to recant, specially when they lay aboue
three hundred men so wise and learned, and
vertuouse, to agree together : what doe we
accompote that a childish companie or Coun-
cell (as M. Iewel vouchsafeth to call them)
whose learning and consent, turned others
from errour to the truth?

52. The question is, whether Images may
be honoured. The Generall Councell brin-
geth forth, first the holy Scriptures, next the
Auncient Canons, among the which there is
one, yea two or three, in the sixth Generall
Councel, which speake laudably of honoring
Images, and call them *Venerandas*, worthy of
reuerence. Thirdly, they bring forth the prac-
tise and the iudgement of the Auncient Fa-
thers. Last of all by consent of all the Patriar-
ches, and Bishops they conclude, that holie
Images ought to be honoured.

53. Who

53. Who now may iustlie pretend , that they followed not the Scriptures , seeinge the Scriptures had geuen them a higher authoritie to teach and feed Christes Sheepe, Math. 22.
 then any priuate man hath ? For they coming together in the name and power of Christ , out of all Nations , doe represent the whole Catholique Church : euen as the Apostles and Priests at Ierusalem , did bear Actori. 15. the person of all the Mysticall bodie of the Church.

54. Now Christ saith , If *any man heare Math. 13.*
not the Church, let him be to thee as an beathen and a Publicane. The Church speaketh in those Reuerend Bishops and Fathers , and by them it expoundeth to vs , *that when God forbiddeth the making and Worshipping of Images,* Note.
he forbiddeth the Honour of Latria, which is due to God alone, to be geuen to Images. And forbiddeth also the making of Idols , and of wanton or vile pictures called *αγάλματα*, such as also the sixt Generall Councell doth forbid. Can. 100.
 But the Images of Christ , of our Ladie , of the Apostles , of Martyrs , Confessours and Virgins , are not forbidden to be made , or to be conueniently worshipped . Thus doth the Church tell vs in that and other Councells : Shall we heareit , or no? For my parte I say , He that heareth it not , shall be unto me as a Heathen and a Publicane . Math. 18.

55. Let vs now adde hereunto, what notable men were about that time and after, who all reuerenced that Decree of the Seuenth Councel, or if some of them were before, yet they are wel knownen to haue bene of the same mind. Their names are: Germanus, Paulus, Tarasius, Archbischoppes of Constantinople: Beda, Ado, Haimo, Ionas Aurelianensis, Damascenus, Theophilactus, Strabus, Anastasius, Bibliothecarius, Remigius, Theodorus Studites, Nicephorus, Photius, Procopius, Euthymius, Zonaras Balsamon, Sigibertus, Metaphrastes, Lanfrancus, Anselmus, Algerus, Guimundus, S. Bernard, Iuo, Rupertus, Petrus Comestor, Gratian, Petrus Lombardus, Alexander de Hales, Hugo Cardinalis, Albertus Magnus, S. Thomas of Aquine, Bonaventura, Dionisius Cartusianus, Hugo and Richardus de Sancto Victore.

56. What recken I vp one by one? At the least six General Councels which followed after, beside many moe Prouinciall Councels, yea all the Popes of Rome, all the Bishoppes, Doctours, Pastours and Clergie, all the common people both of Greekes and Latines, Cities, Prouincies, Kingdomes, are knownen to haue reuerenced and obeyed that Seuenth General Councel.

57. What like Authoritie can M. Jewel shew for his Opinion? Where are his Patriarches, his Bishoppes, his Councels, his Doctours,

All these
belued as
the seuen
Councell.

Lateran.
Lugdun.
Vicanen.
Constati.
Florentin.
Tridentin.

Doctours, his Writers of Histories, and his Churches? Yea where are his Citties, his Prouinces, his Kingdomes? Now I know his common place, that this pompe of Names needeth not, and the time was barbare, Antichrist ruled, the flocke of Christ is a small company, and such other scapes, the which be as Heretical, as his Opinion is in condemning the Seuenth Councell.

58. If there be noway lefft vnto the Church to end Controuerſies, we are worse then the Jewes, who had a liuing high Judge among them, then the Romans, whose cheefe Pretor or Lord Chauncelour, was the liuelie voice of the Ciuil Law, yea we are worse then any common weale in all the worlde; in euery of the which, there is a meane to know in this life, what must be at the length trusted vnto. Doubtlesſe the Churche of Christ can not be in worle case, then other common weales are.

Deut. 17.

59. If then there be an order in Christes common weale, whereby controuerſies may be ended: if the order be so much the better, by how the Gouernour is the wiser: certainlie the iudge is not without a tongue, nor without a meane, to applie the Generall and indefinite Authoritie and rule of Gods word vnto the circumſtances of the presente Controuerſie: nor vnable to conferre the holy Scrip-

Scriptures together, nor he is not so contemptible, that when the sentence is geuen, it may be revoked by priuate mens usurping, and that because, *the Scriptures be not of Private interpretation.*

60. If any Supreme Judge be in all the Church, when the Pope, the Patriarches, the Bishoppes, the Abbats, and Priours, and the learned Diuines be together, and when the Emperour, the Empresse, the Legats of Kingdomes, of free States, and of Christian Prouinces, assist them, if any Judge, I say, be at all, if any Voice or speaking of the Church may be: in that, and such other assemblies, that Judge, & that Voice must be found. And hauing once geuen sentence, that must be obeyed. Therefore he is without all peradventure in the state of euerlasting damnation, who after the Seventh Generall Councell hath defended, *that holy Images ought to be adored*, with such conuenient honour as is due to holy representations: that notwithstanding doth teach, write, defend, or thinks the contrarie.

That M. Iewel himselfe bringeth such reasons for Worshipping Bread and Wine, in the Sacra-ment of the Aultar, because he saith they are the Image of Christes Bodie and Bloud, as may right well serue for the Worshipping of all ho-lie Images.

THE XVI. CHAPTER.

1. **A**S nothinge is more necessary to a Lyer, then to remember what he hath said before (that his tale may still agree with it selfe) so if he be a man full of words, nothing is more impossible to a Lyer, then to auoid contrarietie in his owne tale: because many wordes detect many circumstan-ces, the which in a Lie, will not all stande together.

2. M. Iewel was so carefull to ridde away the duty of godly honour from the Sacra-ment of Christes Bodie and Bloud, that whiles he would needes expound the wordes of Adoration (which the Fathers every where attribute vnto the Sacrament of the Aultar) of such worshippe and reuerence, as may be-long to holy Signes and Images, and not of such as belongeth to Christesowne substan-
ce: in the meane time he is constrained to graunt, that some kind of Adoration is due

to creatures, as to bread and wine, in that respect as (by his doctrine) they are Images onely of Christes Bodie and Bloud. Wherby M. Jewel is againe fallen into a new trouble, how to saue him selfe from geuing worship to all holy Images, the which yet he hath hitherto denied vnto them.

3. All our writing hath beene these many yeeres, to trie who maketh the Lie in Religion: whether the Popish Catholiques, or els the new sprung Protestantes. I say, the Lie is made by the new sprung Protestantes, and that I proue, because their tale, to witte, their belief and doctrine, can by no meanes hang together.

4. Which thing to be so, as euery Argument that I may chaunce vpon doth easily shewe: so at this time writing of Images, I will declare his Doctrine to be disagreeable to it selfe in the matter of Images.

Jewel. The old Fathers in their Writtinges commonlie call the Sacrament a Representation, a Remembrance, a Memorie, an Image, a Likenes, a Samplar, a Token, a Signe, and a Figure.

In his
Reply
fol. 475.

Fol. 379:

Item in the eight Article he saith. Neither doe we onelie adore Christ, as verie God, but also Worshippē and reuerence the Sacrament and holie mysterie of Christes Bodie.

5. Sander. Now say I, if the Sacrament be an Image, a Signe, or a Representation o-

Christe

Christes Bodie, and yet not his owne Bodie in substance (as the Sacramentaries teach) if also not only the Bodie of Christ it selfe, which is in Heauen, but the verie Sacrament and Image of Christes Bodie, be of M. Jewel and of his companions worshipped and reverenced: therof it doth follow, that an Image of a holie thing, which is absent in substance, yet may be worshiped and reverenced of the new Gospellers.

6. But the Images of Christ sufferinge death, and of S. Laurence laid vpon the gridiron, are Images of a holy thing which is absent in substance: therefore the Images of Christ and of S. Laurence, may be worshipped and reverenced of the Protestants them selues. What can be answered to this reason, but only that Christes Sacraments are an other kind of Images then those be, which are painted and grauen by men?

7. In deede to vs they are a farre other kind of Images, because we teach the truth it selfe to be conteined in the Sacraments, which is signified by them. For when it is said at the time of baptizing, *I baptize thee &c.* We say that then washing is both signified in word, and wrought in deede. But those that thincke the Sacraments neither to conteine, nor to geue any grace, but only to signe and seale vp in the harts of the faithfull the benefits

fits otherwise geuen by Christe, they make the Sacraments to be only Signes and Images, and therefore I see not why they should stand so much vpon the difference that is betweene the holy Images, which are in the Sacraments, and those which are painted.

8. But yet I will now declare, that this reuerence and worship, which M. Iewel alloweth to some Images, is not only restrained to the Sacraments by his owne doctrine, but may be more largely taken. For he goeth forward to an other example in these words,

Iewel. We worship the Word of God according to this counsel of Anastasius: Dominica verba attente audiant & fideliter adorent. Let them diligently heare, and faithfully worship the wordes of God. Briefly we worship other like thinges, in such religiouse wise vnto Christ belonging.

9. *Sander.* Hitherto M. Iewel: to whose wordes I adde, that an Image representing Christes birth or death, is a like thing to Gods wordes, in such religiouse wise belonging vnto Christ: because it bringeth Christes death to our hart by the eye, as the wordes wherin his death is preached, doe bring the same death to our hart by the eare.

10. Neither is there any other difference, sauing that the eye is the higher and more worthy sense, and the Image serueth all men that can see (of what tongue or knowledge

focuet

*De conf.
dist 3. A-
postol.*

soeuer they be) but the words readd or preached, serue none but those, who vnderstand the tongue wherin they are pronounced, and not all those, if perhaps they be obscure, as most words of the Scripture are: therfore M. Iewel must as well worship the painted or grauen Image belonging to Christ, as he doth worship the words of the Gospell which belong to Christ.

11. Or will he diuide his worship, when the reason of worshipping is all one? Why doth he worship Christes words? Him selfe faith, because they belong to Christ in a religiouse wise. Looke then how large your cause of worshipping is, so large must your worship be. But Christes owne Image belongeth to him in a religiouse wise (for it is a guise of Religion agreeable to the Law of Nature, and receaued in the very Primitiue Church which maketh vs to set vp Christes Image) therfore Christes Image is to be worshipped by the force of M. Jewels doctrine.

Iewel. Doutlesse it is our dutie, to adore the bo- fol. 404.
die of Christ in the word of God, in the Sacra-
ment of Baptisme, in the mysteries of Christes bo-
die and Blood, and wheresoever wee see any step
or token of it.

12. Sander. I adde hereunto: We see a sleppe and token of Christes body, when we see his Image painted or grauen: for the painted or gra- uen

Note.

Euseb. li,
7. cap. 18.

uen Image of a thing, is a token and steppe
at the leſt of that thing: therefore by M. Iew-
els doctrine, it is our dutie to adore Christes
body in the painted Image thereof.

13. Yea farther: A steppe is much leſſe,
then an Image. For a steppe is only a token
of the foote, whereas the Image is a token
of the whole bodily ſhape. But M. Jewel
confeffeth, that euē in any steppe or token
of Christes body, his bodie ought to be of
dutie adored: therfore M. Jewel by right rea-
ſon muſt confeffe, that much more in the
whole Image and ſhape of Christes body, his
body ought to be adored.

14. Neither can M. Jewel and all his bre-
thren euer auoid this argument. Wheresoever
We ſee any ſteppe or token of Christes body, it is
our dutie to adore Christes body therein. These
are M. Jewelſ owne words. But in Christes
painted Image we ſee at the leaſt a ſteppe and
token of Christes body: therefore it is our
dutie, to adore Christes body in a painted
Image.

15. Note Masters, what M. Jewel muſt
now ſay: either he muſt deny Chrifts painted
Image to be the ſteppe or token of his body
(and then how is that the Image of his body,
which is not ſo muſch as a ſteppe of his body)
or els he muſt graunt, that it is our duty to
adore Christes body in his painted Image.

Now

Note.

Now that can not be done, except Christes body be some way or other, in his painted Image. For that thing can not be adored in the Image, which at all is not there.

16. If Christes body be in his painted Image by any meane (as in ceeede it is there by the like shape thereof) then he that destroyeth or pulleth downe Christes painted Image, destroyeth or pulleth downe that thing, wherein (by M. Iewels doctrine) it was his duty, to haue adored Christes body. But that mult needes be a filthy, an impious, and an vnnatural deede, to pull downe that, wherein he ought of duty to haue adored Christes body: therefore, seing by M. Iewels doctrine preached and practised in Sarisburie Diocese, the painted Image of Christ ought to be pulled downe and destroyed: by his doctrine also, a filthy, and impious, and an vnnaturall deede ought to be committed.

Note.

17. How is it then possible, to reconcile these two propositions? It is our duty to adore Christes body, wheresoever any steppe or token is of it: and, it is also our duety, to pull downe and to destroy Christes painted or grauen Image, wherein a step and token of Christes body must needes be. And so by M. Iewels doctrine, it is our duty to adore Christes body in that selfe painted Image, the which painted Image it is our duty to pull downe and to destroy.

Moreouer M. Jewel saith in an other place,

¶. 409. *Jewel.* The Sacraments in this sort are the flesh of Christ, and are so vnderstoode and beleueed, and adored. But the whole honour resteth not in them, but is passed ouer from them to the thinges that be signified.

18. *Sander.* Marke wel M. Jewels words: for by the selfe same reasoun, we reuerence, worship or adore holy Images, yet so, that the whole honour resteth not in them, but is passed ouer from thē, to the things that be signified. And therefore as M. Jewel doth honour the Sacrament without daunger of Idolatry, so doe we honour holy Images, without feare of committing Idolatry.

19. But this aboue all is to be noted, M. Jewel doth not geue to the Sacrament of Christes supper any honour at all, for that he is desirous to haue it honoured, but only he alloweth it such honour as is due to an Image, to the end he may therby take away the greater honour of *Latria*, which the Catholicks doe worthely geue vnto it. For if he were disposed to honour it in deede as an Image, he would honour other holy Images also. But now whereas he denieth any honor at all to be due to other holy Images: Yet he geueth the honour of an Image to the body of Christ, in the Sacrament, not because he delighteth in honouring that Image, or any other

Other Image, but because he is sure, that if the Sacrament may be honoured only as an Image, then it shall not be honoured as the thing it selfe.

20. Howbeit he is deceaued euен in that point also. For whereas there are two kind of Images, one which is the Image of the outward shape: an other which is the Image of the inward nature and substance: for as much as the Sacrament of the Altar, is not an Image of Christes personall outward shape, but of his body and bloud, which are the names of his nature and substance: And seing there is no Image of nature (as I shewed before) beside that wherein the selfe same nature is, which was in the first paterne: it is cleere, that the Sacrament of Christes supper, being called by the name of Christes natural body, is an Image of Christes natural substance, and therefore the honour of a natural Image (and not only of an Artificial Image) is due to it. This point were worthy to be prosecuted, if it were not somewhat beside our purpose.

21. Another thing that I intend to burden M. Jewel withall in this argument, are his own words in the first Article where he saith.

Jewel. *The very names of the old godly Fathers, are worthy of much honour.*

In the 6
chap,

22. Sander. I adde, that the names of the old godly

In his
Reply.

godly Fathers are attributed to their Images. For the Images of S. Augustine, and of S. Hierome are commonly called S. Augustine and S. Hierome: therefore their Images are, by M. Jewels owne confession, worthy of much honour. For if the very names of the olde godly Fathers be worthy of much honour, wheresoeuer their names be, there is that which is worthy of much honour. Seing the their names be in their Images, their Images (at the least for that very cause) are worthy of much honour.

23. Here it is to be noted, that whereas the Images of the Saints are called by their names, that thing cometh not only to passe through the meere ambiguitie of the word (as when it chanceth sometime a priuate man to be surnamed King, who in deede is not in any point a King) but the Images are called by the names of the thinges them selues, because they belong to them, following and imitating their shape and likenes, and hauing somewhat in them agreeable to that person, whereof they take the name: In so much that the very cheefe nature of an Image is, to be like vnto that thing, which it goeth about to expresse. And it is made altogether with this intent from the beginning to be his Image, whose shape it reprelenteth.

24. Therefore seing the names of the old godly

godly Fathers come to their Images, not by chaunce, but vpon determinate purpose and counsell, neither without caute, but for the likenes of shape which is in them: there is some true cause in Images, why they may be called by the names of the old godly Fathers, and consequently there is some true cause, why they should be worthy of honour, and that (if M. Jewel say well) of much honour.

25. Last of all leauing M. Jewels owne words (whereof we haue said sufficiently) let vs come also vnto his ^{M. Jew}deedes. What shall we say that in the selfe same Reply which he made against D. Harding, and wherein he burdeneth him, as though whereas God had said, thou shalt make to thy selfe no grauen Image, yet D. Harding should say, *t thou shalt make to thy selfe grauen Images;* What shall we now say, if in that Reply M. Jewel hath often times grauen Images: Yea such Images, as are in deede wanton, filthie and vnhonefet? Looke he that listeth at the end of M. Jewels Answere to D. Hardings Preface. And at the end of the xix. xxij. and xxv. Article. There and in otherplaces he shall find, *a grauen Image in M. Jewels booke:* And that such a one, as is meete for a brother, I warrant you.

26. That I may not speake of the Anti-ques and Gorgons heads which be there which are Idols, because they haue no truth

Idols
M. Jew
booke

extant in the nature of things) in the places before named a desperate naked boye is sette forth in such sort, that an honest man would goe backewarde and couer it with his cloke.

27. This Image was grauen in wood, or in some like matter, before it could be printed. And M. Iewel had the ouer sight of the print him selfe . Neither did it fall out by chaunce, that such a foule Image escaped him. For if the Printer had brought him the blessed signe of Christes manhood spread vp-
pon the Crosse , he would haue espied it out of hand: Yea, he would haue storned at him not a little , and haue caused him to haue amended the same as a great fault.

28. But now when a bawdie Image was prostituted to the Readers eye , the which might prouoke him to vnclean thoughts, that Image , though it were grauen first in wood, and afterward sette forth in white and black: Yet it pleased him right wel , and was sette to stand still.

29. O the iudgements of God! He that hath pulled downe Christes Image, and the Signe of his healthful Crosse in all Churches and Chapels where he might come, now setteth forth vnto vs a most bawdy spectacle, & thincketh he hath done wel inough.

30. I can not tel (M. Iewel) whether you being aduisedly asked hereof , would haue said

said in plaine wordes , that this foule Image were to be preferred before Christes picture, or no. But surely in that you were so blind in your deedes, as not to see and to consider this abhominable Image , whereas you looked so exactly to the printing of your booke, and wold so quickly haue found fault with a good Image , that is an argument , that you are geuen ouer to a lewde mind, and are vvoid Rom. 1. of all grace, as one who speaketh against good Images , and in his fact permitteth nawghty representations : as though God had only Exo. 20. forbidden the good Images to be made , and had only alowed the euil.

31. The sixth General Councel, was of a farre diuerse mind. For it thought, that the Images of Christ and of his Crosse, ought to Can. 32. be allowed, and that baudy Images ought to Can. 73. be forbidden. Whereof the Fathers decreed after this sort. *Facile sensus corporei, que sua sunt, in animam deriuant &c.* the senses of the body do quickly bring vnto the minde those things, which belong vnto them ; therefore we do decree, that hereafter by no meanes there shall be painted any Images in tables , or otherwise sette forth, that shall bewitch (or allure the eyes to euil) or corrupt the mind, or inflame it to fileby pleasures . If any man shall doe this hereafter, lette him be accursed , or be excommunicated.

32. I beseeche our Lord at the length to touche some Protestants harts in such sort, that he well returning to himselfe, may accompt it better, humbly to behold the Image of Christ crucified with the Catholickes; then with the Sacramentaries, first to deface Christes Image, and afterward to sette forth other filthy Images meter for common stewes, then for bookees which intreat of Religion,

33. God graunt also, that some few at the least may perceave, how maruelously these men are forsaken of God. Who wheras they would seeme to correct our faults, and to be right holy in their wordes: yet they are so without grace in their deedes, that both they them selues and other may well perceave, that in very deede they preferre any thing, be it neuer so vile, before Christ, in that they preferre any vile Image before his Image. For the same proportion that is betweene Image and Image, is betweene thing and thing.

34. But Christs Image is throwen downe, and a bawdie Image is sette forth: Therefore bawdinesse is more esteemed with them in truth, then Christ himselfe.

35. Awake awake good Countrie men, and see that which can not be hidden . See and iudge, Judge, and amend. Christ is in the lippes, but if he were in the hart, a zeale so feruent would be raised in him, who weighed

this

this matter as it ought to be weighed, that he would beleue: If euer the arte of painting or of grauing were worthy to be suffered in any common weale, it should speciallie be suffered for Christes sake, and be applied to the honour of Christ and his Saints. For if those arts did not vse to serue the honour of noblemen, euery man would not make such haste to haue his owne, and his frinds Image painted or grauen.

36. But seeing all the worlde accompt it gloriouse to haue their Images made, for Gods loue lette that poore man Iesus Christ be thought worthy of one place among you. And lette his Images also be allowed, if not as wel as other Noble mens Images, yet at the least as well as the Images of the meaner sort. Or at the vttermost, let not Christes Image be accompted more vnlawfull, then such bawdie Images, as M. Iewel hath commended to vs in his Replie.

Whether it be profitable or no, to haue Images set vp in Churches, and to permitte them to be worshipped.

THE XVII. CHAPTER.

i. **S**ome that haue thought it no vnlawfull thing to make Images, nor vtterly

vnlawful to geue some reuerence vnto them; yet haue thought it vnmeete, to haue them commonly sette vp in Churches, least the ignorant people might perhaps be drawen therby vnto Idolatry, or to superfluous worshippinge of outward and visible thinges:

Ioan. 4.

Whereas God being a spirit, should be worshipped in spirit and truth: In which point Mallet Jewel is quicke and peremptory.

In his

Reply.

Fol. 17.

Falsified.

Jewel. The best remedy in this behalfe, and most agreeable with Gods Word, is, vtterly to abolish the cause of the euil. So Ezechias brake in pieces the brasen serpent, Epiphanius rent in sunder the painted veile, Theodozius commaunded the Image of our Saviour to be taken downe, where- soever it should be found.

* in the 3.
chapt.

* in the 4.
chapre
which by

in error

of the p̄t
is called

also the 3.
Fol. 28. b.

19. a. b.

2. Sander. Of * Ezechias, and of * Epiphanius, I speake in their due places. Yet this much I thought good to adde in this place, affirming M. Jewel to be ouerthrown by his owne example. For as Ezechias threw not downe all Images, for the abuse which was committed about one, no more may M. Jewel vtterly abolish all Images from our Churches, though some one be abused. But as Ezechias leaft the Cherubins in the Holy of Holies, as he suffered the Altars in the Temple, yea the Temple it selfe to stand (which was made to be an obscure Image and shadow of Christ the true Altar and true

Tem-

Temple) : So that one Image being broken which happened to be abuled, all the rest of our Images ought to stand still in our Churches, and to be conueniently worshipped, because they represent honourable Verities and Truthes.

3. The Law of Theodosius is misreported, and misenglisched: Misreported, because it was meant by him , that such honour was due to the Signe of our Sauiour(which is the Signe of the Crosse) that he would in no wise haue it painted, or graue on the ground, lest by tredding on it , dishonor should be done thereunto. The wordes of which law I alleaged before out of the Code of Iustiniian, where that law was safely preserued above these thousand yeeres , in the sight of all the world. And that is a meeter testimony to assure our selues of, then that which Trinitus reciteth imperfectly, I can not tell whence, but (as it maie be thought) out of some blinde copie vntruly written , and yet Trinitus doth not write the contrary of that which is in the Ciuil Law, but only he hath left out the word *humum*, vpon the ground.

4. Againe, M. Jewel hath erred, or at the least wold make others to erre by englising, *tollis*, to be taken downe, where as in that place it signifieth to be taken vp. For the Emperours meaning was, that wheresoever the

In Cod.
Iust lib. i.
Tit. ii.

In the
Chapter
where I
spake of
the signe
of the
Crosse.

Signe

Signe of our Sauiour was found painted or
grauen vnder mens feete, it should be taken
vp, and saued from tredding on.

Can. 73.

5. The which thing wil appeere the more
evidently, if we consider that the sixth Ge-
nerall Councel decreed the same thing, say-
ing: *Crucis figuras qua à nonnullis in solo ac
pavimento fiunt, omnino deleri subemus.* We com-
maund the figures of the Crosse (which are
made of some men in the ground and in the
pauement) to be vtterly taken away, or to
be put out.

6. If the Councell had staid here, it had
seemed a text alone for M. Jewel. But the
cause of that Decree followeth, *ne inceden-
tium conculcatione victoria nobis trophyum in-
iuria afficiatur.* Leaſt the triumphal ſigne of
the conqueſt (gotten for vs) ſhould be iniuri-
ed by their treading vpon it, who ſhould
walke vp and downe. And yet farther, the
ſame decree confeſſeth the Fathers of that
Councell, *tribuere adorationem viuifica Crucis
& mente, & sermone, & ſenu.* To geue the
honor of adoration to the Crosſe (of Christ)
which cauſeth vs to liue (a ſpirituall life) both
in mind, in word, and in vnderſtanding.

7. And therefore witnessiſſing that theiſe
adoration by an outward Decree, they will,
no ſigne or figure of the Crosſe to be made
or ſuffered vpon the ground, leaſt iniury be
done

done to it, whiles it is trod vpon. And the very same meaning had those Emperours, whom M. Iewel, according to his living spirit, maketh to commaund the signe or the Image of our Sauiour to be taken downe: whereas they commaunded it to be taken vp, for the honour they gaue vnto it. But taking vp, is taking downe with him, to whome vp is downe, white is blacke, and good is euill.

8. Here also it is to be noted, that Master Iewel englisheth *Signum Saluatoris*, the Image of our Sauiour, notwithstanding he had denied before, that the Signe of the Crosse (which is the Signe of our Sauiour) was an Image. Thus it is by his iudgement both an Image, and no Image.

In his
Reply.
fol. 502,

9. That order which the Councell of Ments taketh for altering or taking away of Images which be abused, is misliked of no man. But our question is generally of all Images: *whether it be expedient to permit Images to be worshipped, or no.* For now I take it proued and graunted, that Images may both be made, and reuerenced, according to the desert of the thinge represented. And if all men knew all things and were perfitt, I thinck fewe would dout, but that Images might be permitted to be worshipped: but men being as they be, the question is vniuersally con-
ceaued,

The pre-
sent que-
stion.

ceaued, whether it were good to permit the worshipping of Images in publick Churches, or no.

10. In the which question, we must consider, on the one side the daunger of Idolatry, or of superflououse worship; and also the ignorance of the people: on the other side, the truth of our faith, and the profit which commeth by Images. And according as the caules doe most vehemently preesse vs, therafter we must be ruled.

11. I say and dout nothing thereof, *that it is much better to permitte the Worshipping of holy representations, and Images in Churches, then to imbarre altogether the same, by taking away Images.* For herein standeth the point of the question, as now the new Gospellers make it. They, to take away the occasion of worshipping Images, would haue no Images at all sette vp in the Churches. We, albeit we sett not vp Images principally to be worshipped, nor to be worshipped at all for their owne sakes, yet seeing a certaine worship may lawfully be geuen to them for the truthe sake which they signifie, we iudge it much better, to let them be worshipped (teaching the people what worshippe is due to them) then wholy to abolish the great profit which cometh by Images.

12. And surely if in comparison of the danger

danger of Idolatrie (which is little or none at all) the profit be certain and evident, euen as, for the abuse which is daily committed about the holy Scriptures, we doe not vtterlie take away and abolish the holy Scriptures: euen so the particular abuse of any one Image, or of some few, should never moue vs to remoue all Images from our Churches.

13. Now it remaineth, that I must proue this danger of Idolatrie to be stale, or not to be such as ought to be esteemed, and the profit of images to be so great, that it ought to be of great estimation.

14. In euery question which shalbe circumspectly handled , the particular circumstances must be respected of the men, of the time, or place, and of the thing it selfe. Concerning our question , I must consider the state of the Church at this present , not busying my selfe with that which is past, or is to come. For the state of the Church might haue bene otherwise in the old time, and may be otherwise hereafter , and then other men heretofore might, and hereafter maie, geue an other iudgment in this very matter, wherof I speake presently.

15. But surely if ever time were , when images might be permitted to be reuerenced and honored, this is it. For now, although all the Catholikes in Christendom held their

peace, which yet they do not, the deedes and doctrine of the new Gospellers against images are so wel knownen, & so spread throughout all places, that it is not lightly possible for the people to be deceaued in honouring images to much. Yea rather it is daily seene, that many honour them neuer a whitte, and beginne plainlie to contemne them. And those which remaine good, haue yet alwaies a certaine feare of their deedes, for so much as they know them selues to be reproued in that behalfe.

a. 16. Besides this, when the time was most quiet, he that should see the Sexten sweping topwebbes from them, and the Parish Clerke putting the Crosse so homly vnder his cloke, vntill he came where it were to be set vpon the banner, might well perceave a great difference between that meane reuerence which was geuen to images, in comparison of that which both was geuen, and was due to the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Aultar.

17. If then the people were neuer to much bent, and now be so little bent to reuerence images, shall we now helpe forward their ignorance, and hasten them to errour? Againe, when the question is, not only concerning the facte or deede, but also concerninge the Law and right, if the one of the twaine must needs

needes be defaced , it is lesse euill , to suffer some one to doe amisse , then to falsifie the whole Law and right it selfe.

18. That images may be made and permitted , *it is the Law of Nations* , and therefore vndoubtedly a certaine principall ordinance , and Law of God. Likewise , that such Images as represent a truth worthy of honour , are in that respect to be regarded , and in some part honoured , *it is a truth of the Law of Nature* ; and also of Gods Law as it hath bene proued before .

19. This Law then and this right of Gods truth being generall in it selfe , ought not to be hindred or stopped , although it chaunce that one or twaine take hurt by the misuse thereof . Sitchens it is worse , that Gods Law should be in daunger to be pronounced wrōgfull and false , then that some one man should be deceaued . For if Images should be forbidden generally to be worshipped , the matter would shortly grow to this opinion , that Images may not be worshipped at all , which is an error in doctrine .

20. When the faith and intent of him that worshippeth the Image is good , as when he mindeth to worship only one God , and to shew his good affectiō to his glorious Saints , ^{That the} daunger of idolatrie what so euer is done with this minde (so that ^{is not} great , Sacrifice be not made to Images) it can be no

Idolatrie. And therefore the daunger of idolatrie is not great. For none of the common people can make externall Sacrifice . And inward Sacrifice to the Image they doe not make , if they be of this minde , to beleue one God , and to honour his Saintes , but as his friendes and seruaunts.

21. And surely , if it would please any noble man in England to examine a thousand poore men , *and to geue them no captious question of purpose* (as some malitiously doe) he shall find them al of this mind to beleue and worshippe onely the blessed Trinitie as one God , and all others as seruaunts to him . And for Priestes , who make the publique Sacrifice , it is certaine that they neither doe make any Sacrifice to Images , nor can doe it , because the rule and Canon of theire Massebooke , doth direct them to make their Sacrifice to God alone . If men were of good conscience , and woulde rest in the truth , these realons might shew vnto them sufficientlie , that the danger of Idolatrie is not great . For no outward act is so properlie belonging to God (beside externall Sacrifice) but the same may be done to other things , without any danger of Idolatrie . And therefore although the people doe kneele before an Image (as they also doe before Princes) or doe put off theire cappes , or doe light a taper

per or candle before them, shewing the Sain-
tes to be those lights whose workes doe shine be- Math. 5.
fore men, that God in heauen may be glorified:
If all this while they be of this mind, to ac-
knowledge but one God, there is no Idolatrie
committed.

22. And that thing (to say, that there is but
one God) we preach, they protest dailie in
their belief, and keepe in their hart, if they
be not vtterly become Infidels, of whom we
now speake not, but onely we say, that there
is no sufficient feare of idolatrie, among faith-
full Christians, for which Images ought to
be vtterlie abolished.

23. In this behalfe, I can but offer the choise
to M. Jewel, or to any other of his brethren:
asking them whether they wil haue the Christian
people considered as of a good and strong faith,
and as free men from all idolatrie (where-
vnto Christ hath redeemed them) or els, as
weake and fraile, which may be quickly seduced
and easilly caried awaie from the truth. If he con-
sider the Christian people as of a good faith,
and as deliuered by Christ from all Idolatrie:
then seing there is in them no iust feare of
idolatrie, the Images of Saints may be law-
fullie worshipped, because the worshippers
be safe.

24. If they will consider the Christians as
weake and fraile, & make them like vnto the

old Iewes and Painims, they surely do great iniurie to Christ, who promised to be merciful to their sinnes, and to deliuere them from Babylon, Ægypt, Idumea, and to be short, from all the Idols and abuses of the Gentils. The which promise was fulfilled by Christ, causing the Idols to be first throwen out of their harts, and afterward out of the Temples of all Nations.

re. 31.
cb. 8.

25. *Ero illis in Deum* (saith God) & *ipsi erunt mibi in populum*. I will be to them for (their) God, and they shalbe to me for (my) people. That is to say, I will be to them, not only their God, but also my purpose and intent is so to be their God, as to be and to continue the last end of all their affiance. And they shall so be my people, that I will haue none other for my people. For this phrase *in Deum*, and *in populum*, doth signifie a being to the end, without change or reuocation.

26. As then the Church of God was prophecied to be one ouer all the world, and affirmed of Christ to be a citie built vpon a hil, *which can not be hidden*, so that notable and famouse company of Christians, whom the Turks, Saracens, and Tartarians haue alwaies knownen: that knowē multitude which euermore from the time that they haue had Churches haue set vp Images in them, that multitude, I say, compared for its number to the dust

ith. 5.

dust of the earth, and to the sand of the sea
 (which consisteth of rude and ignorant per- Gen. 1:
 sons for the most part) must of necessitie con- & 22.
 tinue the people of God, and he must con-
 tinue their God, because the word of God
 can not faile.

27. If then these Christians which haue
 alwaies liued in Grece, in Italie, in Spaine
 and in such other places, haue the promise to
 be Gods people : seeing they haue had Im-
 ages in their Churches, and haue had them in
 great price, as it is proued before: it can not
 be, that these images should become Idols.
 For they that honor Idols are no more Gods
 people.

28. And verely although the wordes that
 follow in Ieremie, and in S. Paule, be true
 many waies, yet I thinke certainly they are
 truer no one other way, then in this, that the
 Christians shall neuer againe become Idol-
 atours. For thus it is written: *And every man*
shall not teach his neighbour, nor every man his Jerem.
brother, saying. Know the Lord: because all men Heb. 3:
shall know me from the lesser of them to the grea-
ter, because I will be mercifull to their iniquities,
and I will not now remember their sinnes. Math.

29. Behold, whereas many things neede
 to be taught, yet this one thing is so warra-
 nted by God him selfe, that no man shal neede
 to say to his neighbour, *Cognosce Dominum,*

Know the Lord. For God him selfe taketh this charge vpon him, to prouide that euery brother, to witt, every Christian shall be taught by God himself, that God is his Lord, and that he shall neither haue, nor worship any other God.

30. He therefore that now iudgeth Gods people to be as prone to idolatry as the Iewes were, and therefore will haue them to make no images, or to worship rather obscure and darke shadowes, as the Iewes did in their Holy of Holies, then plaine and euident images, as we now doe, he is iniuriouse to Christes grace, and contumeliose to his bloud, and perfidiouse in denying the performance of his promise. The Iewes were kept from euident and expresse images, because they were either harde harted, or meticuloose and scrupulouse. And therefore the vse and libertie of the Law of Nature, was in some parte barred them by Gods owne law, both in certain meates, and in the vse of images: and the libel of diuorle was winked at in them. But it were dishonorable to Christes people, not to be so deliuered from the bondage of sinne, as to be able to professe euery parte of the Law of Nature freely and boldly: notwithstanding that we are also ready to be restrained from certaine meates vpon obedience, but not as from thinges which we may not

at

at all take: as (for example) when either we
be iustly dispensed withall, or when the Law
is changed. For such lawes as are made by
men, may be changed by men of the same au-
thoricie.

31. Seing then it is the Law of Nature,
to honour vertuouse men, by setting vp Im-
ages to them, we may do that thing freely
now, and ought not to stay from it vpon the
pretense of fearing Idolatry. On the other
side, if needs we shall respect the Christian
people as somewhat weake and apt to fall
into Idolatry, yet I pray thee (good Reader)
to attend this one reason, I say, the best way
or meane to stay faithfull men from Idola-
trie, is to lette them haue, and conueniently
to honour the Images of honorable perso-
nages.

32. For as God permitted the Iewes being
in deede prone to Idolatrie, to offer vp to
him oxen, calues, lambes, gotes, wheaten
meale, loaues, wine, not that he needed them,
or that these thinges pleased him so much,
but because they should be occupied in ser-
ving him, and because seing they would nee-
des offer some externall Sacrifice, they might
haue a meane to do it vertuously and honest-
lie: euен so now God permitteh the Chri-
stian people to haue and to worship the Im-
ages of heauenly truthes, not that he needeth
such

Such worship (who needeth of vs none at all) nor that he is so much pleased with the honoring of Images, but that the people may haue, wherewith to intertwaine it selfe vertuously, and honestly.

33. And so much the more Images are now permitted, because it is not lawfull for anie other externall Sacrifice to be offered, besidē that Bodie which was geuen for vs, and that blood which was shedde for vs, the which they only maie offer externallie, to whom Christ gaue externall power by his external

v. Ioan. 2. wordes, to make that thing, which, wherefoeuer it be, is the Propitiation for the Sinnes of the Whole Worlde. And wherefoeuer it is made, there is made the Propitiatorie Sacrifice for mankind (concerning the substance which is consecrated) albeit the acte of death be no more repeated.

34. So that, forasmuch as the people haue not that multitudes of Sacrifices, which once the Iewes had (if they were still weake) it might be permitted to them, to haue good and Godly remembrances of Christs death vpon the Crosse (which was the onelie Propitiatorie sacrificising of him selfe) and of the death of his Apostles and Martyrs, who Sacrificed their owne will and bodies to his will, by suffering death according to his example.

35. But

35. But verily Images are not so much permitted to Christians for their weakenes, as for their strength . For therin Gods promise and strength is glorified in that the same people which once committed spiritual Fornication with so many stockes and Stones, now is through Christ so stronge, that it doth no such thing. And that not only by prouiding to haue no Images at all (for that were a pusillanimite)but by hauing & worshipping such Images, as do represent a thing worthy of worship . *Moreover seeing the true worshipping of God consisteth in spirit and truth* (as Christ hath taught vs) when that which is outwardlie seene , doth leade vs to that which is true and spirituall , there is a great helpe obteined by the outward sight, to our spirituall deuotion. For as when we see creatures which prouoke vs to euill (as harlots doe) we are bound to absteine from the sight of them as nigh as may be : euen so when a creature cometh in our way which was made to prouoke vs to good (as all our images are) we are bound by naturall reason , to apprehend by that visible helpe of our inward deuotion.

Ioan. 4.

Notes

36. We must not therefore apply the text of Christ, *true worshippers adore the Father in spirit and truth*, against holy outward representations, the which helpe our spirit, but *against*

against Idols, and against the bondage of pray-
ing after one certaine corporall fashion, the
which is not at all times profitable. But as it
is euer good, to heare the word of God cor-
porally preached: so is it euer good to see ho-
lie and godly images of heauenly thinges, as
of Christ rising from death, ascending into
heauen, or comming againe to iudgement.
And euery man who intendeth perfily to a-
mend his naughty life, hath now more neede
to prouide, that he may haue a good remem-
brance alwaies before his eyes, then he was
carefull before to haue his harlot, or his vaine
apparrell in his owne eye. But they that
can see our Images to be Idols (as they think)
are most of them such, as make no conscien-
ce at all, *even after the vow of chastitie*, to see
their Concubins, and Harlots daily about
them. So they feare where no feare was, and
there be desperate, where all the feare ought
to haue bene.

37. I haue bene longer in this argument,
then I minded. I will briefly recite the com-
modity, which cometh to vs by holy Images.

38. The first is, in that we learne thereby
some thinges, which we knewe not before

39. The second, because other thinges,
which we knew before, we do remember.

40. The third, because we doe not onlie
remember them (as by reading, or by repea-
ting)

ting) but by the most speedie twinckling of
the eye.

41. By seeing and knowing, we are pro-
uoked to become like those men, whose I-
mages we behould with reuerence and esti-
mation.

42. We are confirmed in our Faith , per-
ceauing these things , which are painted be-
fore our eyes to be so true, that euerie where
they are openly sette forth and honoured.

43. We are kept well occupied, and de-
liuered from occasion to imagine idle things
of our owne phantastical devising, the which
might in deede cause Idolatrie.

44. We tarie more willinglie in the hou-
se of God, which is so adorned with Godly
Histories.

45. We consider the companie of heauen,
how marueilouse it is . For as the Holie of
Holies being decked with the Images of An-
gels, did (by S. Paules interpretation) signifie
Heauen to the Iewes: so must our Churches
be decked with the Images of Angels , and
Saintes , that they may be to vs a Figure of
euerlasting Glorie.

46. We pray to Christ at the sight of his
Image, and we likewise desire our Ladie, or
the Apostles, or Virgins to prae for vs, at the
sight of their Images.

47. We honour God in his Saints, and in
the

48. Also we glorify God in that we are so free and strong in our faith, that we need not be kept from conuenient worshiping of laudable Images, as the weake Iewes were.

49. Last of all we profess the truth of the Golpell, and of the Law of Nature, which requireth conuenient honor to be geuen to the Images of honorable personages.

50. Thus the peril of Idolatrie being litle, or none at all, and the profit of Images being great: it must needes be profitable to permitte the people to honour Godly representations and Images in our open Churchies.

*Whether the same Degree of honour be due to
the Images of Christ, or of his Saints, Which
is due to Christ, and to the Saints them selues.*

THE XVIII. CHAPTER.

In his
Replie
vol. 516.

i. **T**HIS point is in controuersie between the Catholiques them selues, and therewith M. Iewel burdeneth vs not a little. For he saith, some Schoolemen would haue the Crosse, and Images of Christ honoured with *latrissia*, that is, with godly honor: others would haue them honoured *in latrissia*, that is, with an honor whereof may be scrued. The matter in

as the whch cōsisteth rather in subtile points of Philosophy, not yet decided by the church, then in any dissention of wils or mindes in matters of Diuinitie.

2. First, all the Diuines agree, that in an Artificial Image we may consider three thinges: either the matter of the Image (as the wood, stone, or siluer) or els the outward forme (as the painted colours, or proportion of the Image) or els the representation which it maketh.

3. Concerning the matter of the Image, they all agree, that it is not by any meanes worthy of any honor at all, because it is a thing without life and reason. The like maie be saied concerning the colour or good Proportion of the Partes. For they also are worthie of no Honour belonging to Religion. Albeit perhapses a worldly man maie naturallie esteem the Arte of the Painter or of the grauer, but that is not any honor of Religion, whereof we now speake.

4. But if any Image be made to resemble a person, who is worthy of euerlasting honor with God in heauen: all the learned writers agree, *that the said resemblance of such an great honorable Personage, deserueth some kinde of honor pertaining to true Religion.* Therfore in these three points we al agree. And because we do agree in them, those that disagree from

Herein
the Catho-
like s-

their

their and our Auncestours and Forefathers
in this behalfe, can not be excused from
Schisme, nor yet from Heresie, if they will
stubbornely defend their false opinion.

5. In the point that now foloweth, if we
disagree, we require not you (M. Jewel) to
take this or that side, but we say you are boûd
to agree with the vniuersall Church, in that
respect, as the faith of it is vniuerſall. And it
is vniuerſall in affirming, that some honor is
due to all holy Images.

6. Wel, what is the Fourth point, wherin
some Catholiques disagree? It standeth
herein, to knowe, by what speciall meanes
an Image, as an Image, doth represent the
truth which it signifieth vnto vs. For either
The doute the Image may sende vs from it selfe, and re-
ferre vs ouer to the truth, and also it is con-
sidered apart from the truth; and so it is ho-
nored in a lower degree then the truth: or
els the truth and the Image may meeke to-
gether in his minde, who in the Image behol-
deth the truth, and at the same time with the
truth honoreth the Image. And in that case,
the Image and the truth be as one thing, and
so the same honor seemeth to be due to the
Image, which is due to the Truth.

7. Both these opinions in diuerse considera-
tions may chaunce to be true, and ther-
fore perhaps there is no such dissencion be-
tweene

tweene the Scholemé, as to some it apeareth.

8. And surely in this question (wherin the In thinges Church hath as yet defined neither part) any not determined it man may speake his owne coniecture: and I is free to wish hartely, that M. Iewel had spent his disfcat, witte and learning, rather in trying out such controuersies, as, without danger may be concluded this way, or that way, wherein only the Schoole men dissented) then with the evident destruction of his owne soule, and of all that follow him, to trie his wit and learning in vndoing that, which Christ, the Apostles, and the whole Church, haue bene a building vp so many hundred yeeres . But let vs returne to that purpose.

9. It is a thing most cleere, that as soone as euer I vnderstand whose figure and Image that is, which is before mine eyes, immediatlie the person him selfe cometh to my minde, and that so sodainly, that, the knowledge of the Image , and of the thinge whose Image it is, make but one knowledge. For I vnderstand not one after the other, but both together. In so much that vntil I vnderstand somewhat of the truth, I can not vnderstand any particular thing of the Image. For if I see an Image , and can not coniecture by any outward token whose Image it is , well I may know it to be the Image of a man, because it beareth the shape of a man, or the Image of a

Saint, because it standeth in the Church, and so as I know the image generally, I know the truth therof generally. But I can not determine or specially restraine the image to this or to that man, or to this or to that Saint, except I first know, that it belongeth to S. Peter, or to S. Paul, or to some like person.

10. If then the Image be not particularly knownen, without some foreknowledge of the truth, it is not possible that the Image (as any particular mans Image) should be in my mind or vnderstanding, before that self thing be there, whose Image it is: The Image in deede may be in mine eye, and consequently it may be offered to my vnderstanding, before that I thincke actually of the thing represented. But when so euer I know this or that to be Christes Image, I haue Christ in my vnderstanding rather before the Image be knownen to be his, then after. For I conferre and compare the Image offered to me, with that which I haue reade or heard of Christ, and when I find them to agree, I conclude this to be Christes Image. If then the motion of the minde toward the image of Christ be so inseparable from the motion of the mind toward Christ himselfe, that as well the image as the thinge represented be knownen together, and so knownen, that (when the knowledge cometh by the image) the knowledge of

of the one, can by no meanes possiblie be diuided from the knowledge of the other: it remayneth to discusse, whether it be like also in worshiping, as it is in knowing. That is to say, whether as my minde is one in instant ^{The qu} moued, and caried by the meane of the Image, so ^{stion.} the remembrance of the truth it selfe, so the honor and worship of both, be all one, or no.

11. Whereunto I answere thus, that the honor may be vnderstoode to be one after two sortes and orders of speach: either that the same honor which is geuen to the Image, the same in number is geuen to Christ: or contrariwise, that the honor which is geuen to Christ, is also geuen to his image. Of these two waies I will (by Gods grace) intreat so much the larger, by how much the harder this matter is. ^{A distinction.}

12. With me it shall stand for an vndoubted conclusion, that when so euer we beginne our worship on the Images behalfe, that the same selfe honor which we geue to the Image, wholy and altogether cometh to the thing represented. And by that meanes there is one and the selfe same honoring of the image and of the truth. And this conclusion or true proposition is found in the Seuenth General Council. The which can not be better examined, then if we heare how M. Iewel understandeth the same proposition. And then ^{The sol} ^{tio of th} ^{one part} ^{Action.}

by comparing my sense with M. Jewels, it shall appeare, who hath found out the true meaning thereof.

In his
spie

L. 515.

lifying

Iewel. In the Second Nicene Council, it is determined thus: Non sunt due adorationes, sed una adoratio imaginis & primi exemplaris, cuius est Imago. There are not two sorts of adoration, the one called *Latria*, the other *Doulia*, as M. Harding diuideth them, but one only adoration, both of the Image, and also of the sampler wher-of the Image is.

13. Sander. This place is worthy to be examined, because there is so much folly and ignorance committed therein. To declare the matter plainly, S. Basil had written a booke against the Sabellians, Arrius, and other like Heretiques, in the which booke he speakeinge of the blessed Trinitie, sheweth that the second person therof being naturallie the Image of God his Father, doth not cause the Vnitie of God to be thereby corrupted. And that S. Basil proueth by an example taken from Artificial Images: because he that calleth the Kings Image, by the name of the King, doth not thereby diuide the King, or make two Kings.

14. Upon this Authoritie, one *Ioannes*, the Vicegerent of the Bishoppes of the East, declareth, that they speake and teach falsly, who say that we diuide Christ into twaine,

when

when we seeing the Image of Christ, say therof, *This is Christ*. For as the saying by the Kinges Images, *This is the King*, maketh not two Kings: so the saying by Christes Image, *This is Christ*, maketh not two Christes.

15. And to returne to the first purpose (of S. Basil) the saying that God the Father is God, and God the Sonne is God, maketh not two Gods, because God the Sonne being naturally the Image of God his Father, is one and the same God with his Father.

16. We see then a proportion to be kept betweene the Natural Image, and the Artificial Image. For as the Sonne of God being naturallie the Image of his Father, is not an other God, but the same one God in an other Person: so the Artificial Image of Christ, is not an other Christ, but an other representation of one and the same Christ.

The pro
portio be
tweene
image an
Image.

17. Whereupon the said Iohn concludeth, S. Basile to haue declared, that as the painted Image of Christ maketh not two Christes of one, so likewise the Adoration of Christes Image, maketh not, that there are two adorations in that behalfe, but that there is one Adoration of the Image, and the same also of the first samplar, whose Image it is. The meaning then is this.

18. As when we call the Image of Christ by Christes owne name, we meane that Image

The tra
sēcē of th
Councel

to be a thing that representeth Christ who sitteth in heauen, and not to be an other Christ beside him which sitteth in heauen, but only to beare his name and shape: so when we adore and reuerence this Image of Christ, we meane not, that Christ in heauen is to be adored, as an other thing cleane diuerse from that which we adore in the Image, but only that the adoration geuen to the Image, is at the same instant geuen to Christ, and so it is one adoring of the Image and of the first samplar.

*now M.
w. was
ceaued.*

19. For the adoration goeth from the Image to the samplar. And therefore all the adoration which is done to the Image, is done to Christ, albeit not all that which is done to Christ, is also necessarily done to the Image. That is Master Jewels errour, in that he thinketh, *he maie as well begin with Christes
owne honor, and bring that downe to the Image,* as contrarywise the Councel beginning with the Image, sendeth vp the whole honor therof vnto Christ himselfe.

20. We geue in deede that selfe same adoration to Christ, which we geue to the Image, but we geue not all that to the Image, which we geue to Christ himselfe. It is then one adoration of the Image and of Christ, in respect that we referre the whole honor of the Image to Christ. But that honor is in
aba-

a baser degree in the image, the it is in Christ. For it is in Christ naturally, and really, and for his owne sake : but in the Image by the waie of representation, and of relation, and by an accident, and secondarilie, and for Chri-
ses sake.

21. But this matter belongeth neuer a whitte to take away the distinction of *latria*, and of *doulia*. And herein farther appeereth M. Jewels forging, because he églishest these wordes, *non sunt dua adorations*. There are not two sorts of adoration. And he exemplifieth his doctrine by *latria*, and *doulia*. Whereof Ioannes the learned Father meant Act. 4. not: yea rather the contrarie thereof was fol. 519 taught before, in the very same Action.

22. It is meāt, that the adoratiō of the Image is also at the same time the adoration of the truth, and that no diuision of adoring is made in him that adoreth. But it is not saied, that the same adoration in all degrees is geuen to the image, which is due to the truth: Euen as when I honor the Seruant of my friend, I honor my friend. And so the honor is one, because the selfe same honor goeth (by mine owne appointment and intent) from the ser-
uant to my friend: but I geue not all that ho-
nor to the seruant, which I geue to my friend
himselfe.

23. And that in the Councell it was so
meant

meant, the reason there alleged out of Saint Basil sheweth. *Nam Diuinus Pater Basilius honorem imaginum ad ipsum exemplar primum redire testatus est.* For the Godly Father Basil hath witnessed, the honor of the Images to returne to the first samplar it selfe. So that the one adoration which is named, is without diuision in him that geueth it, and without diuision in him that receaueth it.

24. And yetto make it plainer, the adoration of the Image so passeth immediatlie to the first Samplar and Paterne, that it becometh not first one in the Image, and then afterward an other in Christ, but it passeth altogether (remaining still one and the same) from the Image to Christ himselfe.

25. Being then in the Image *doulia*, it is *doulia* in Christ. For by his Image there cometh no higher Honor to him, then the Image is able to conuey: Although him selfe receaueth otherwise a higher honor of vs, and that also greater, then his Image can receaueth or carie.

26. And yet doth not his Image any more hinder his owne honor, then S. Paule doth. For when I honor S. Paule for Christes sake, thereby no greater honor then the honor of *doulia*, cometh to Christ. For no more cometh to him by the honoring of his Creatures, then that wherewith his Creature maie

be

be honored. And albeit the honor of *doulia*
be not all the honor that is due to Christ, yet
it is well done to geue him so much (for as
he is our Lord, so is *doulia*, due to him) and
more we may not geue by that meane of his
Creatures.

Aug. super
Exo. q. 94.

27. Lette it be the custome in some Ci-
ties, that if the Kinge him selfe come, he
shoulde haue presented to him a hundred
Poundes, but if his Lieutenant come, halfe
thereof should serue.

28. The halfe that is geuen to the Lieute-
nant, is geuen for the Kinges sake, and the
honor of it cometh to the King. And yet al-
though it be not so great an honour as his
owne, it is well geuen, and was due to him
by the meane of his Lieutenant.

29. Thus we vnderstand, that M. Iewel
either was or would be deceaued in this mat-
ter of one adoration : thereby to burden vs
with geuing of Gods owne honor to Im-
ages. And whereas he alleageth a litle before
certaine words, which the Bisshoppe of Con-
stance is reported to haue saied in a booke
bearinge the name of *Carolus Magnus*, the
booke is forged, and there is no trust to any
thing that is saied therein.

In his
Replie
fol. 115.

30. For how could *Carolus Magnus*, who
built so many Churches and Monasteries,
and so diligently obeyed the Bishop of Rome Sigeb. Am.
Dom. 801
(who

(who also crouned him Emperour) who lefft so many Reliques at Aquisgrane where he lieth buried, who among other holy Reliques, lefft a litle grauen Image of our Ladie, there, with other Iewels which he ware at his breast, who caused the Frenche men to conforme them selues in their Church-Songe to the Romans: how can he be iustly thought to haue written a booke against Images? And a booke of such small credit, that the Librarie whence it was taken, nor towne where it is printed, nor the man who printed it, is named therein.

30. Therefore leauing to answere that booke, and all such authorities as are alleaged out of it, I will come to examine, whether, as when we beginne our honor on the images behalfe, all the honor which we geue to the image, cometh necessarily vnto the truth: so on the other side, whether, when we honor Christ in his image, and purposelie doe geue him his owne honor, we may geue also the same honour at that time to the Image.

32. For although hitherto I haue defended against M. Iewel, that the learned Father *Ioannes* (whose words M. Iewel interpreted falsly) meant to say no more, but onlie, that the honor of the image, and of the truth is one honor (because it goeth altogether from the

Sigeb. An.
Dom. 790.

The que-
stion con-
cerning
the secōd
part of the
distinctiō.

the image to the truth) yet I haue not hither-to denied, but that it may be possible for the same honour in some sense or other, to be communicated to the image, which is geuen to the truth, albeit the said Father *Ioannes* spake not thereof. For I at this present speak rather of S. Thomas of Aquines mind, then of any mannes els.

33. S. Thomas defendeth, one and the *s. parte* Summar
Artic. 1;
q. 25. same honor to be due to the truth, and to the image thereof, then only, when we adore the truth in the image. To make his meaning plaine, we must imagine, that a devout man cometh to a place where the image of Christ is. This man no soner seeth Christs image, but immediatly he lifteth vp his hart and mind to Christ, and withal his streng adoreth Christ true God and true Man. Of whom if any man should aske, what he adored, his conscience would answere, I adore nothing els but Christ. For in deede he thinketh nor mindeth nothing els.

34. But S. Thomas is persuaded, that al- The opi-
nion of S.
Thomas. though he thincke not speciallie and namelie of adoring the image, yet because the image was to him at this time the meane of adoring, that he naturallie and necessarilie adored the Image with Christ in that instant, wherin he began to adore Christ: because Christ was then shewed him in the image.

35. This

35. This is somewhat like, as if whiles Christ liued on the earth, one of his Apostles meeting him after his resurrection clothed in purple, should haue adored him, not thinking at all vpon his Godhead. This Apostle might notwithstanding be said to haue adored the purple of Christ, not in deede name-
lie and distin&tly, but as the matter then gaue: because, Christ, whom he adored, was then in a purple garment. And the Apostle did not then exclude his Garment from his adora-
tion, but adored his Master as he found him, not bidding him putte off his Cote , before that he would worship him.

**De verb.
Domini
Ser. 58.**

36. Now, as I alleaged before, S. Augustine confesseth, that when we adore a Prince crowned or clothed with purple, that then we adore his crowne and garment with him, as a thing vnited to him for that time. And he bringeth this example, to proue that we may adore the flesh of Christ with Gods owne honor, because it is ouermore adored as a thing vnited to God.

37. And although the vnioun of the flesh, be farre greater then that of the garment(because it is both made in one person , and du-
reth still) yet there is , for the time that the garment is on the Kinges back, there is, I say, alike consideration: in so much that Christes owne Garment wrought miracles, and hea-
led

led diseases. How I pray you? But as a thing for the time adioyned to his bodie, and considered as a part of him, or as a thing of his.

38. And yet this example of adoring the garment, is not in all points like to the other of adoring the image. For the garment is an other seueral thing. But the image of Christ, as it is the image and shape of his manhood, hath in truth of thinges, none other person or subsistence beside Christ him selfe, whose it is, whatsoeuer it is, in the true condition of his image.

39. For as I said before, we must now lay aside the matter of the image. Item the arte of the Grauer, the colours of the Painter, the proportion, yea the very relation which is betweene the image and him whose image it is. And we must consider, that when we first see the image, Christ is so present to vs therin, that before our mind doth by thought separat his image from Christ, we adore Christ, and at that instant of our adoration, we finde Christes image made to vs, as it were, one with him selfe. The truth of which his image, hath none other thing finally to rest in, beside the Manhood of Christ, and his Manhood resteth only in the person of Christ, and his person is the worde of God, and God Ioan. 1. it selfe.

What
must be
laid aside.

40. Therefore in this condition and state
of

of adoring, S. Thomas teacheth, that the image of Christ adored, onely, and wholy for Christes sake (with whom it is then made one thing) may in that consideration of vnitie with Christ, be adored with the same honor, wherewith Christ is adored. Thus he teacheth. In which doctrine it is to be noted, that neither S. Thomas, nor any man els doth purposelly geue him selfe to adore the image of Christ, as it may be considered by any meanes a seuerall thing from Christ, but only as it maketh one thing finally with Christ, if it doe at all make one thing with him.

41. Secondly the Church neuer taught, nor doth teach, that the Image of Christ must be adored with the honor due to God: nor the honor which is vsually geuen to Christes image in the Church, is no such honor. For no man is taught to beleue vpon any images, or to call images his Gods, or to do Sacrifice to them. There is no such custome in the Church, nor shall never be.

42. The honor which the Church alloweth to images, or rather to the Saintes by them, is the setting of them in a high place, the putting off our cappe when we see them, and consider whose images they are, the ligh-
ting of a candel before them. The which honor is little and in maner nothing, in compariſon of that which we thinke and beleue
of

What the
Church
doth not
to Images.

What the
Church
doth to
Images.

of the truth it selfe.

43. I beleue the truth either to be God, if I speake of Christes image, or to see God, if I speake of the Saints. And therin I accompt them to be in an euerlasting honor, whereof they are partakers for their owne sakes. But this transitory honor which we geue to them by their images, is not worthy to be so much as the shadow of that honor which our hart beleeueth. S. Thomas thinketh the doctrine of geuing Godly honor to Christes Image to be true, by the force of naturall sequelle, and by the verie true nature of such an image wel vnderstoode.

44. Thirdly, if S. Thomas hath beene deceived in this Question, it is an errour in Philosophie, and not in Diuinitie. For he al- leageth not for his doctrine any other Auth- oritie, then Aristotle, who teacheth that an image may be considered two waies: either as it is a thing of it selfe, wheroft so euer it be made, or as an image only.

45. Concerning the first way, the image differeth from the truth: concerning the se- cond, the minde is at once so moued, and ca- ried at one instant by the image to the truth, that as S. Thomas goeth forward with Aris- totles doctrine, it apprehendeth the truth in the image. Then is the image for that time with the truth, and so the truth being ado- red

Al the cō-
trouersie
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a point of
philoso-
phy.

red in the image, and the image being ioyned with the truth, causeth the image to partake the same adoration which is geuen to the truth.

46. But what? Wil you, M. Iewel, that I shall tel you whether S. Thomas doth discourse well out of Aristotle, or no? As though you or I were so conuersant in the Metaphy-sikes, as to make *semibriefs*, and *minims*, of *Quiddities*, and *Entities*, and *Esseities*, and to consider what difference is betweene an image, as a relation, and an Image, as a condition. And what Vnion is made with the truth in this or that case.

47. I thinke verely if the question had bene moued in the General Councel (where better Philosophers had bene like to haue mette, then you and I am) they would yet haue refused to haue talked of that Article: only contenting them selues with this doctrine, that the image of Christ, and the images of his Saintes ought to be honored: leauing it to the thing it self, what honor should come to the images parte, sith the intention of the Church is only to haue Christ honored by that kind of way, as well as by diuers other waies.

Note earnestly.

48. It is a madnesse to thinke, that the Church intendeth to honor the image, for the images owne sake: if that were so, the Church

Church would say , all images without exception must be honored. But now it neither faith nor thinketh so : but that the images of honorable and of godly Persons must be honored. Then it is the honor of the persons which is sought , and not the honor of the image, but only as the image apperteineth to the person . So that if any man for Christes sake, honor Christes image never so much, the honor is not geuen to the image as to stay there , but to passe ouer immediateli vnto Christ. And therefore there is no such great peril in S. Thomas doctrine , except there be any peril in honoring Christ with godly honor, which way soeuer that honor be made ouer to him . And among all externall meanes of honoring Christ, none lightly is more subtil, more speedy, and more necessarily or nighly ioyned to Christ, then the honor which cometh to him by his image.

Note.

49. All this notwithstanding , I putte it for an vndoubted truth, that, *All images be honored in the Church, with an inferiour honor to that, which is due to the first samplers and principal paternes.* For whether in any case the honor of the image may be the same with the honor of its truth, or no, I neither will, nor am perfittly able throughly to discusse . But certainlye the honor of the image may right well be lesse, and in a baser degree, then that

1. which is geuen to the truth it selfe. Because when honor is geuen to one thing for an other things sake, as to the image for the truthe sake: there is greater honor geuen to the truth, then to the image. For the truth is honored for its owne sake, and the image not for its owne sake at all, but as belonging to the truth.

2. 50. Againe the truth may be honored without the image therof, as God him selfe is honored of vs, although we can devise no Image of his incomprehensible substance. But no image can be iustly honored at all, without the truth whereunto it belongeth. For as it is an image it hath this nature, to be necessarily referred vnto that whose image it is.

3. 51. Last of all, the image is sette vp and honored, because it is a thing directed to this end, that the truth may be thereby remembred and honored. And therefore euen when no man feeth the Image, or vseth it: yet it standeth stil, in a high place, and is decked or adorned after some honorable sorte. Which declareth a certaine externall honor to be geuen to the signe it selfe, for that it may signify, & is appointed to signify the truth, though presently it doth not signify, because no man beholdeith it.

52. This honor of letting an image stand in a high place, or suffering a lampe to burne before

before it, is geuen to the truth by them, who loue the truth so wel, that for his sake, they do thus honor the Image. But this is not all the honor which we geue to the truth. For we beleue the truth to be in heauen, and to see the nature and substance of God face to face.

53. The which belief of ours concerning the honor of Saintes, is an inestimable honor geuen to the Saintes, in comparison of that which is temporally done about their Images. For wee thincke the artificial Image to be a transitory thing, which may be honored to daie for the truthes sake, and by mischance may be burnt to morow without any dis-honor to the truth, if the fire proceede not of theire malice, who for despite destroioē Saints Images.

54. This honor then, which is geuen to the Images, being incomparably lesse then that which we geue to the truth, is vndoubtedly to be geuen, without curioise discus-sing, whether any more may be geuen or no. For if more may be iustly geuen, more is geuen though we know not of it. Because the thing it selfe and the nature of an image hath all that alwaies in it, which is due to it in the truth it selfe, whensoeuer by the Image we adore the truth.

55. How much is due to the Image; we
X 2 neede

324 *Of Images, and Images breakers.*

neede not care, sithens it is the truth that we honor, and not the Image in it selfe, or for ist owne sake. So that if when we see Christes Image, we geue Christes owne hono to him, either the Image is then adioyned so nigh to him, that it necessarily pertaketh the same honor with him, and then the Image is so honored : or els the Image is not so nigh ioyned, as to haue the same honor, and then I geue it not the same honour : but what so euer honor I geue the Image as an Image, it surely passeth ouer, to the thing it selfe.

? AU 55

F I N I S.

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F I N I S.

7. AD 55

Non solum

mysticis illis

scilicet dicitur

et huiusmodi

notariis certioribus

et

et ceteris

scriptis

et ceteris

and similis o-

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and similis o-

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M

APPROBATIO.

Ego Cornelius Iansenius testor, me à fide dignis viris Sacrae Theologie Doctoribus Anglis intellectisse, hunc librum à Doctore Theologo mihi etiam notissimo tanquam fidei Catholicae Zelatore editum, diligenter lectum esse, examinatum, & Catholicum repertum, ac planè dignum qui pro defensione Catholicæ doctrinæ de Imaginibus, typis excudatur, ad confutationem Hæretorum, & instructionem infirmorum.

Ita esse testor Cornelius Iansenius
Sacrae Theologiae professor.

Cum gratia V^o Priuilegio
Regiae Maiestatis.



